olden Caulfield Meets the Movement *Theodore Solotaroj*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts — May 10, 1969, 40 cents

Mao and the New Mandate

Edgar Snow

Laird and Leaks —*John Osborne*

Gorton's Australia —*Ross Terrill*

Wait a Minute! —*Alexander M. Bickel*

Same Old Donkey? —*Paul Wieck*

Will to Believe —*Gertrude Himmelfarb*

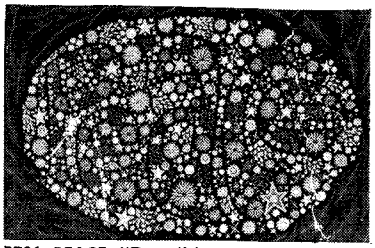
BEREA OHIO
RITTER LIB PRO
BALDWN WLCE COLL
44017
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARBORO'S VERITABLE ORGY OF POSTERS

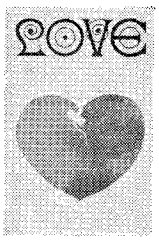
Mod ▪ Psychedelic ▪ Cinematic ▪ Pop ▪ Love ▪ Peace ▪ Art Nouveau ▪ Fine Art

Mostly in color (see descriptions), mostly huge (see sizes!), surprisingly inexpensive (see prices). No frames needed. Tack them up!

$1 AND UP



P706. PEACE. "Peace" in a sky of stars and flowers, surrounded by pine boughs; iridescent reds & greens with white and red-brown. 30" x 19¾". *Special* **1.00**



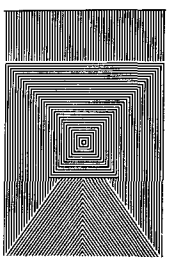
P634. LOVE (WITH A BAND-AID). In lavender ink & orange on a white background. 22" x 35". *Special* **1.49**

P760. GO SLO. In blue and dayglo yellow. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**

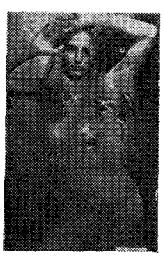
P816. Georges de Feure: LITHOGRAPHIES ORIGINALES. Dark greens contrast with black, chalk white, light greens & gold; 22" x 30¼". *Special Import* **1.98**

P849. Durer: THE KNIGHT, DEATH & THE DEVIL (1513). In sepia on white art stock. 21" x 26¾" image area. *Special* **2.98**

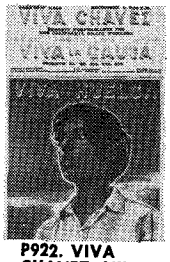
P858. Ben Shahn: YOU HAVE NOT CONVERTED A MAN BECAUSE YOU HAVE SILENCED HIM. Black & brown on white. 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**



P756. Hausman: GATES OF HELL. Psychedelic reds, greens. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**



P962. MORE MARIE. In full color on coated stock. 29½" x 42½". *Only* **1.98**



P922. VIVA CHAVEZ—VIVA LA HUELGA. Subdued tones of brown, green, red. 30" x 45". *Only* **3.95**

P667. ENDLESS SUMMER. Hues of fuchsia, orange and mango with figures in black. 29¾" x 40". *Special* **1.98**

P989. NEVER AGAIN WAR. Silkscreen after Kollwitz 1924 drawing. Black, gray, dayglo red on fine art stock. 23" x 30". *Special* **4.95**

P570

P571

P572

P573

P747

P748

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC POSTERS

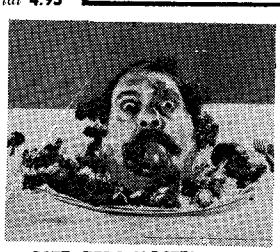
Silkscreens with the melting colors of Lautrec's ebullient palette. Each 20" x 28". *Each Only* **1.00**

P570. Aristide Bruant. **P571. Moulin Rouge.** **P572. Jane Avril.** **P573. Divan Japonais.** **P747. Theatre Antoine.** **P748. Galerie Du Bac.**

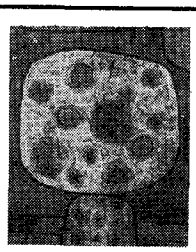
P965. Set of 6 Posters, Special 5.00

P818. Mucha: SALON DES CENT. Flesh tones and muted greens predominate with white; 20½" x 30¼". *Special Import* **1.98**

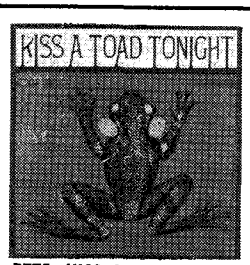
P876. MARIE. Photograph in full color—a huge 29¼" x 52½". *Only* **1.98**



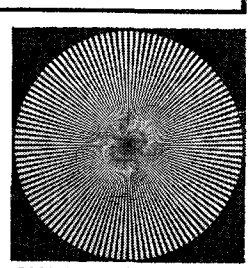
P977. ZERO MOSTEL. Mostel in a choice pose for one of his more melodramatic roles. 28" x 21½". *Only* **1.98**



P780. Klee: FLOWERS IN STONE. Lithograph in burnt orange, pale cream, green, blue, and rose. 18¾" x 23½". *Pub. at $7.50.* *Now Only* **2.98**



P775. KISS A TOAD TONIGHT. In red and black on a green-gold background. 25½" x 25½". *Special* **1.49**



P963. ZONK. In brilliant dayglo colors with a moire pattern on matte black background. 39½" square. *Only* **2.49**

P930

P910

P907

P913

P900

P903

P934

P946

P905

P895

RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY POSTERS

Sometimes Funny, Sometimes Sad, These Exhortations Reveal the Naive Fervor of the Desperate Struggle to Rally the People to the Revolutionary Causes During the Years 1917-1929.

P946. AFTER SMASHING CAPITALISM, THE PROLETARIAT WILL SMASH PROSTITUTION. Blue, terra-cotta, black. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P934. HAVE YOU VOLUNTEERED? Red & black. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P930. DEFEND PETROGRAD with Your Own Life! In sepia. 27" x 19". *Special* **1.00**

P910. HELP! Black on white. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P913. YOU ARE STILL NOT A MEMBER OF THE COOPERATIVE?—JOIN AT ONCE! In dark red and yellow on white background. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P907. FORWARD IN THE DEFENSE OF THE URALS. Brown on white. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P905. REMEMBER THE STARVING. Blue, green, brown on white. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P903. BLOODY SUNDAY. Reds, browns, yellow on white. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

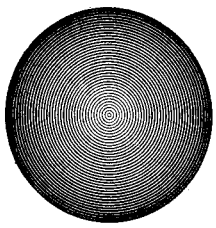
P900. COMRADE LENIN SWEEPS AWAY THE FILTH OF THE WORLD. Subdued colors on white. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P895. MOUNT YOUR HORSES, WORKERS & PEASANTS! THE RUSSIAN CAVALRY IS THE GUARANTEE OF VICTORY. Green, gray, brown, gold, dark red. 19" x 27". *Special* **1.00**

P966. RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY POSTERS, 1917-1929: Portfolio of 40 Posters.

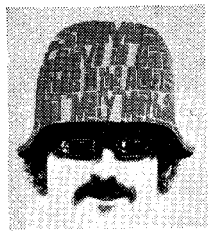
The complete portfolio of 40 posters (including those listed here) from the Lenin Library, Moscow; with booklet of historical background, translations, and annotations for each poster. Set of 40, Special 29.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



P677. TARGET. *HUGE* in blinding red, yellow, black and white. 40" x 40". *Special* **1.98**

P737. Picasso: DON QUIXOTE. *On genuine artists' canvas* —Silkscreen in black on white canvas. 20" x 24". *Special* **2.98**



P988. SOME BELIEVE . . . IN THE ANGELS. Slogan in mauve on a silver helmet. 22" x 35". *Only* **1.49**

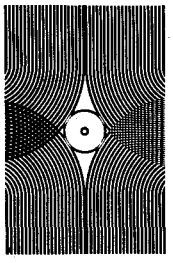
P872. Lorin Gillette: FREE. Nude figure silhouetted against a setting sun and shadowed waves; on coated stock. 15½" x 21½". *Only* **1.98**

P815. JOIN THE UNDERGROUND SPECIAL AIR FORCE. Wine red and greens; 22¼" x 28½". *Special Import* **1.98**

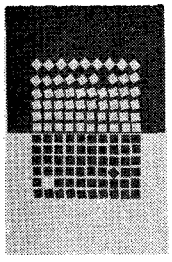
P880. BRIGITTE BARDOT. In Full Color—Bardot in necklace, golden hair, and water. 29½" x 42¼". *Only* **1.00**

P917. Wyeth THE CLEARING. Tones of green and yellow. 19¼" x 24". *Only* **7.49**

P883. I WANT YOU. Subdued red and shades of blue. 29½" x 39½". *Only* **1.98**

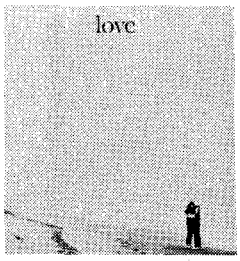


P802. TRIPS. Shades of dayglo red, orange and magenta. 25" x 38". *Special* **1.00**

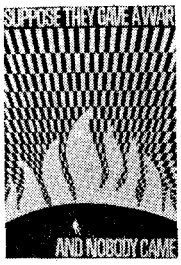


P790. OUT-OF-STEP. Blue and dayglo orange patterns out-of-step with each other. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**

P757. Hausman: NO EXIT. Psychedelic blues, greens. 25" x 38" *Only* **1.00**



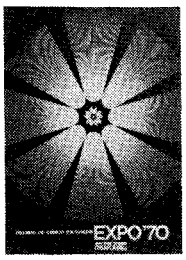
P871. Lorin Gillette: LOVE. Particularly handsome—a couple embracing against a background of sea and sand. 17¼" x 21½" image area. *Only* **1.98**



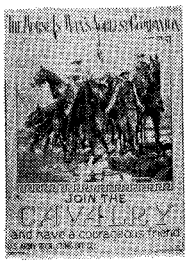
P788. SUPPOSE THEY GAVE A WAR—AND NOBODY CAME. Silkscreen—in black and dayglo red. 25" x 38". *Special* **4.95**

P987. DON'T TRIP. Banana peel in shades of green & banana yellow. 22" x 35". *Special* **1.49**

P976. CAMPBELL KID PSYCHODELIA. The Campbell Kids, a huge Campbell's Tomato Soup can in bright, striking colors. 24" x 36". *Special* **2.95**



P676. OSAKA EXPO '70 POSTER. Chrysanthemum in bronze-gold with iridescent red center on matte black background. 29¼" x 42". *Special* **1.98**



P878. JOIN THE CAVALRY. In subdued blues and browns. 29½" x 40¾". *Only* **1.98**

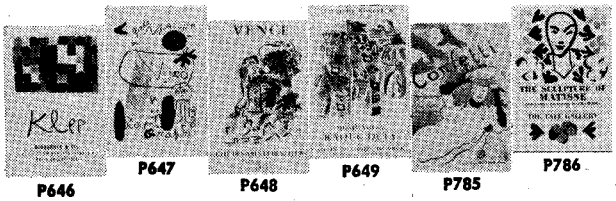
P875. Esso Tiger: I NEED YOU NOW! The Esso Tiger in brilliant dayglo red and orange. 29" x 39½". *Only* **1.98**

P759. FIGHT FOR PEACE. In bright blue, green & yellow. 25" x 38". *Only* **1.00**

P884. A MAN AND A WOMAN. In dayglo cerise, green, orange, red, on matte black background. 29" x 40½". *Only* **1.98**

P797. BAN THE BOMB. In dayglo green on a matte black background. 28¾" square. *Only* **1.49**

P793. WANDA EMBRY. The 46th annual New York Art Directors Club Show's painted lady—in full, delicious color, life like! and life size! 12" x 63". *Only* **4.95**



P646 P647 P648 P649 P785 P786

ART EXHIBITION POSTERS

In gorgeous colors on extra heavy white art stock. Each 20" x 30".

1.00 each

P646. Klee Poster
P647. Miro Poster
P648. Chagall Poster
P649. Dufy Poster
P785. Lautrec "Confetti"
P786. Matisse "Sculpture"

P964. Complete Set of Six 5.00

P730. Beatle Banner. In black & white; 18" x 42". *Only* **1.00**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

marboro Dept. NR-172, 131 Varick St., New York, N.Y. 10013

Please send me postage prepaid, the bargains circled below.

(Please add 45c postage and handling on all orders under $10.)

MINIMUM MAIL ORDER $3.

☐ **Ship C.O.D.***

☐ **Enclosed find $_____**

Charge my (check one) & write in your account # _____ **the amount of $** _____

☐ Amer. Exp. ☐ Diners Club ☐ Carte Blanche ☐ Unl-Card ☐ First Nat'l City Everything Card

Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

P570	P571	P572	P573	P634	P646	P647	P648	P649	P667
P676	P677	P706	P730	P737	P747	P748	P756	P757	P759
P760	P775	P780	P785	P786	P788	P790	P793	P797	P802
P815	P816	P818	P849	P858	P871	P872	P875	P876	P878
P880	P883	P884	P895	P900	P903	P905	P907	P910	P913
P917	P922	P930	P934	P946	P962	P963	P964	P965	P966
P976	P977	P987	P988	P989					

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ **Check here if you receive monthly bargain circular.** New York City residents add 6% sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. 10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP

NEW YORK: 47 W. 42 St. • 56 W. 8 St. • 144 W. 57 St. • 966 3rd Ave. (58th St.)

PHILADELPHIA: Roosevelt Mall Shopping Center, Roosevelt Blvd. & Cottman St. (Next to Klein's)

CINCINNATI: Downtown & Swifton Center

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $10, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc. 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington

Washington's Crazy

The inscription reads, "To The White House Correspondents' Association With Kind Regards, Herbert Hoover." No date. Yes, there he is, with two-inch collar. The picture frame is broken, repaired with scotch tape, tilted against the telephone cubbyhole of the *Christian Science Monitor* and *Chicago Tribune* in a corner of the White House press room. Why is he there? Who knows . . . Washington is a crazy place.

Lights dim in the auditorium of the Washington Hilton, the Chamber of Commerce audience rises, the band breaks into "Columbia, Gem of the Ocean," down the center aisle under the spotlight come six cops carrying flags, and two tightly-leashed police dogs. You can feel the patriotism. The man beside me, from Atlanta, eagerly explains, "You mustn't show fear; they can smell it; if they smell fear they'll attack you!" But what, we ask, if you *are* afraid? It stops him; he hadn't thought of that.

"Her mandates make tyranny
tr-remble,
Hurrah for the Red, White and
Blue!"

Ah, what a moment. The cops mount the platform, go through smart military maneuvers; the band breaks into the National Anthem. You note the flags have gilt fringes. The big, savage, obedient dogs sit. The man from Atlanta has his hand over his heart; many others do, too.

You are assailed by the unbelievable in Washington. Stoney-faced Attorney General Mitchell is now talking. Organized crime, he says, costs the nation "$50 billion a year" (Is that possible? – the whole defense budget is around $80 billion.) He goes on – fight crime by competition, he says. Suppose you are a banker; a borrower comes to you: "I must get a loan or go to the Cosa Nostra." Give him the loan, Mitchell pleads, and take business away from the gangsters.

You pinch yourself. Is somebody seriously suggesting that bankers are like that? The big Chamber of Commerce audience applauds rapturously. And besides, adds Mitchell, a former tax lawyer, "loan defaults are tax deductible."

Now it is time to go to the White House. You show your identification card, with the awful photograph, at the guardhouse on Pennsylvania Avenue under the big elms across from Lafayette Park – the loveliest park in America now completely boarded up to the height of 10 feet to install ornamental fountains that will probably be terrible. An electric release clicks in the grilled iron fence, you walk up the familiar road past a pile of movie gear waiting for the next celebrity.

In what used to be the Fish Room (because FDR's aquaria were there) but is now the Roosevelt Room (with bronze reliefs of FDR and TR) George Romney is talking. With him is Max Fisher of Detroit, a large, benevolent figure. There is a handout, too, from Mr. Nixon. This is the start of Voluntary Action, the Administration's air-conditioned crusade. Handsome, striking, evangelical Romney is telling us that what made the country great is what people did for the country and not what the country did for the people. (We heard that before somewhere.) There are phrases like "creative partnership," "cross-fertilization," "ambassadorial relationship." The room has white woodwork and cream walls, red carpet on cork floors and no windows. A clutch of tripods behind commemorate the event. On one wall there's a picture of Teddy leading the charge up San Juan Hill. Over the mantle of the fireplace (kindling all laid) there's a nice picture of peri-wigged Fathers signing the Declaration of Independence.

It's Not the Money

"Voluntary activity is the fourth dimension of leadership," says Romney. We like Romney. We admire him. We favor (yawn) Voluntary Action but our mind flits back to that tarpaper slum in the Negro section of Belzoni, Mississippi, that we visited one time. It has one community water tap and no privies. Voluntary Action? Ho-hum. . . . How much will it cost? a reporter asks. The government will put in a million dollars, Romney says, but it's not the money. . . . Maybe, he's right. It seems, somehow, a typically Republican idea – free enterprise, private initiative. Somebody asks press secretary Ron Ziegler after the show who Max Fisher is? "A successful businessman," Ziegler says. Yes, but in what line? Ziegler appeals to the *Detroit News* man. "Oil millionaire," says the latter laconically. For no reason we all laugh.

Washington is daft. You can't put a compass to it. Rep. Charles Chamberlain (R., Mich.) didn't like the way a patrolman was telling him not to make a right turn, and hit him with his c... The cop went to the hospital. ...e charges will be filed against Chamberlain; he's a Congressman. Rep. Mer... Rivers, House Armed Services c...ld man, sent five secretaries on a ...th week junket to Europe at taxpayer...ly expense ($5,788.62). Nobody will...es anything; he's a Congressman. ...ese

Sometimes you think it's all that ..." The government is spending mill...ty" to support the tobacco crop – and Ar-lions more to combat smoking. ...ies last Congress cut 3,700 off Trea...ri-personnel to save money; the Treas...a-this year will collect $500 million ...of taxes, the Secretary of the Treas...aty says grimly, because there are fe...er-Treasury workers to catch tax eva...

Or legislation: Senators got 10...zes letters a week at the height of the ...nd control crusade after Robert ...e." nedy's death. What happened? ...la-much; the gun lobby waited, and ... to gress passed a pop-gun measure. ... to day a House committee has gar... started an amendment to provide d... popular election of a President. ...it-it get anywhere? Possibly; but it ne...he a two-thirds vote from both Hou... and a three-fourths approval from ...y state legislatures. ...m

If you want nobility in Washingt...e-look at the monuments. And no do...he there's some drifting around loose, ...ed But the respectables denounce mut...t-in colleges and never mention the V...ng nam draft; they rejoice that Mr. Ni...vas stayed cool on the spy plane inci...ted and disregard his rantings on ...re's *Pueblo*. You make sense of it; we c... aty

...ive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Branch breaching its own very specific assurance to the Congress, ignoring the document supposed to regulate such things, and concealing its hand.

A substantial question of China policy is also involved. The rationale of the 1954 treaty was defensive: we did not want to be in the position of using territory claimed by Peking for military operations against China or other points. (This leaves aside, in Senator Kennedy's words, that "the US supports Nationalist U-2 flights over the mainland, as well as Nationalist guerrilla raids and espionage.") But once the Vietnam war grew, the convenience of Taiwan overwhelmed policy. In a war which Secretary of State Rusk said we were fighting against "Asian communism with its headquarters in Peking," the Taiwan bases have played a measurable role. Aware of its provocative character, US officials have hidden Vietnam operations on Taiwan and sought to confine them to low-key support missions. It is said categorically that no B-52's have flown from Taiwan to bomb Vietnam. Yet there is an emergency plan to evacuate B-52's to Taiwan.

Roadmaster Volpe

Since 1960, the San Antonio business establishment has been trying to get federal money for an expressway to downtown through the city's unique, centrally located park complex. Texas conservationists have fought the project since its inception. Last September, former Secretary of Transportation Alan Boyd granted it "conditional" approval. Federal funds would be made available, he said, if the expressway were redesigned to minimize damage to the park. Opponents expressed tentative satisfaction; the highway builders grumbled. However, Boyd's successor, John A. Volpe, has told rejoicing San Antonio highway supporters that he would remove the conditions and approve the road as originally proposed.

The action is only the most recent evidence of the unhappy contrast between Boyd's treatment of the highway program and Volpe's. Boyd and his advisors knew that, by offering to pay up to 90 percent of highway construction costs – with 25 to 30 times as many federal dollars available for roads as for mass transit facilities – the government had distorted state and local transportation planning for years. The Boyd administration put out a regulation requiring state highway departments to hold two public hearings (not just one, as under prior rules) before seeking federal aid for highway projects. Boyd annoyed the Justice Department by asserting that any citizen who is aggrieved by a federal transportation decision should be able to challenge it in court. (Justice, which has to defend federal agencies in litigation, prefers to argue that most plaintiffs have "no standing" to sue the government.) Another Boyd reform required highway contractors to prove that they were hiring without regard to race *before* they could bid on federal jobs.

Nothing in Volpe's background suggested that he would follow the Boyd line. A millionaire building contractor who had been elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1966, he had been his state's Director of Public Works and, briefly in 1956-57, Federal Highway Administrator. Less than a month before he was chosen to head DOT, he vehemently opposed its two-hearing highway regulation. At his Senate confirmation hearing, Volpe pointed out that his construction company "has not built one single mile of highway." He said also that he worries about the effect of new roads on urban areas, and he stressed the need for a balanced transportation system. Asked about his denunciation of the two-hearing procedure, Volpe said, "The positions which I took as Governor are not necessarily the same as those I will take with the very different perspective of the Secretary of Transportation."

Yet even before the San Antonio renege, Volpe's actions confirmed suspicions that his appointment was an important victory for the highway lobby. Shortly after taking office, for example, he appointed Francis C. Turner as his Federal Highway Administrator. A 40-year veteran of the federal highway bureauracy and a former assistant to Volpe, Turner is reputed to have a bulldozer bias. Volpe then pleased the road gang by firing Peter Craig, a ranking DOT attorney who had made a reputation outside the government as an effective opponent of urban freeways. Craig, whose qualifications as a transportation lawyer are unquestioned, was the only one of four DOT assistant general counsels to be removed from his job.

On March 17, Volpe announced to the Associated General Contractors of America, an organization he once served as president, that contractors will no longer be required to obtain advance eligibility to bid on highway jobs; proof of equal employment opportunity efforts will be required only from the successful bidder *after* a contract has been awarded. The new procedure, which will render enforcement more difficult (Volpe said it will strengthen DOT's equal employment program), precipitated an inquiry by a subcommittee headed by Edward M. Kennedy.

The San Antonio dispute is but one of a number of highway controversies Volpe will have to resolve. Local groups are trying to ram multi-lane expressways through New Orleans' historic French Quarter and through irreplaceable parkland in Memphis. Freeway fights in Washington, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and other cities are ripening.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will It Be the Old Democratic Donkey?

by Paul R. Wieck

Early this year, the Democratic Party's new chairman, Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, formalized the reform directives of the 1968 national convention by naming two commissions – one headed by Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota and charged with setting guidelines for opening up the party and reforming the delegate selection process; the second, chaired by Rep. James O'Hara of Michigan, assigned the task of modernizing the rules and procedures of the convention.

At its opening hearing, April 24, the McGovern Commission summoned the party's top leaders for advice – Sen. Ed Muskie, who is devoting himself to building a following on a thousand Main Streets; Sen. Ted Kennedy, heir of an unfulfilled dynasty and everyone's choice for front-runner; Sen. Eugene McCarthy, last year's hero and this year's whipping boy; plus an assortment of lesser lights. The pickings from the testimony, if you delete the fine words, were rather meager.

Take the question of opening up the delegate selection process. Which is better, a primary or a party caucus? Or can the two operate successfully side by side in a mixed system? Is a national primary in order? How many, if any, at-large delegates should the party leadership be allowed to choose to reward heavy contributors or elected officials? How can the selection process best serve minorities: through primaries, an open caucus or a combination? If delegates are picked in primaries, must their preference as to candidates be listed on the ballot to avoid the blind voting that frustrated New York and Pennsylvania voters in 1968?

It's a large order. Senator McGovern and his colleagues on the commission, most of whom seem genuinely committed to a more democratic party, if not yet agreed on each specific detail, hope to make a preliminary report by mid-summer and come up with firm recommendations by mid-fall.

The first clue to their thinking came when the Maryland legislature, meeting in nearby Annapolis, was wrestling with a bill to change the old procedure (selection of delegates by a state committee elected two years earlier). Senator McGovern was asked to speak to the state legislature; he conferred with key party leaders. In the end, the Maryland legislature passed a direct primary bill which calls for the election of 75 percent of the delegates by congressional district and 25 percent by a state committee elected two years earlier. Senator McGovern, who told the legislature that the safest route would be to get as close as possible to a 100 percent election of delegates by the voters, made it clear he was not in sympathy with the new Maryland plan.

At one point, the McGovern Commission was asked for a preliminary guideline on the quota of delegates that could be named by the state committee. Not wanting to get locked in, the commission members demurred, although the figure 15 percent seemed to strike most of them as the very maximum that could be allowed. To formalize this figure, however, raises another problem. Might it not encourage California or Wisconsin, where the voters now choose all the delegates in a direct primary, to change its law to allow the state committee to pick 15 percent?

Allocation of convention delegates by congressional districts allows minorities a greater chance for representation, whether they're white, black or brown. But it still leaves them at the mercy of state legislatures, with their proclivities toward gerrymandering. What good would it do the Mississippi Delta's black majority, which has been split three ways by the cruel "layer" plan of districting? Or Baltimore's huge black population, which has been gerrymandered to save three seniority-laden white congressmen?

Then too, if the commission is to draw a one-man, one-vote guideline, is it fair to give a heavily GOP district in upstate New York the same number of delegates a heavily Democratic area in Brooklyn or the Bronx gets? Perhaps the commission should invent an entirely new kind of election district for the selection of delegates. Allocation by districts would correct a fault in California, where 46 percent of the voters elected the entire delegation in 1968, completely shutting out the 42 percent who voted for Sen. McCarthy and the 12 percent who preferred a Humphrey-backed delegation.

There seems to be general agreement on several points. One is that primaries aren't necessarily preferable to open caucuses. For instance, the latter worked well in a number of states in 1968 – among them Iowa, Colorado, New Mexico and Minnesota. In others (Missouri, Mississippi, Texas, Oklahoma), it didn't.

What about proportional representation? In New Mexico, it proved workable, because the state convention was so evenly split that a motion to divide the delegation along the lines of candidate preferences passed by a handful of votes, despite the bitter opposition of party leaders. What if it had gone the other way, and the minority hadn't been allocated its share of delegates?

If the McGovern Commission comes up with fair and effective guidelines, it's going to need a lot of help, both from the men who are yearning for the 1972 Presidential nomination and local party leadership. It is already getting considerable help at the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state level. Twenty states have reform commissions, some of which are doing a thorough job; for instance, Michigan's Haber Commission, set up by the state party in the wake of the Chicago mandate for reform. One feels that every effort will be made in Michigan to eliminate the present system, which allows delegates to be named by precinct officials elected two years before a national convention. State Chairman Eugene P. O'Grady in Ohio, a man who came up through the party structure but saw the meaning of 1968, is anxious for real reform. The same is true in New Jersey, where Gov. Richard Hughes named Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr. to head a special reform commission.

In comparison with these developments, the testimony of the aspirants was bland and disappointing.

Senator Muskie was the most specific witness, urging application of the one-man, one-vote principle that takes into consideration party membership distribution; he opposed de facto imposition of the unit rule and asked for delegate selection within the calendar year of the national convention. Yet, his testimony somehow missed, which is too bad since his candidacy is already booming. His popularity with the regulars, the men and women who were the "radicals" of FDR's days, is apparent. If he accepts a bid to speak at a party fund raiser, it's sold out by return mail. The flow of invitations is heavy (50 to 60 per day) and almost that many volunteers come in nights and weekends to take care of the extra work load. He's the "Mr. Clean" of his wing of the party – soft-spoken, self-assured, reliable. In his speeches on the road, Muskie is urging his constituency of regulars to open the party's doors to new faces, new voices; even share some of their power. This isn't unusual for a spokesman of a party which has just lost the White House. Nor does it imply surrendering power or even an orderly transfer.

Muskie's nemesis, Sen. Kennedy, was even less specific in his testimony to the McGovern Commission. He covered every inch of safe ground, thoroughly, even bouncing off ideas like turning local party units into a kind of "ombudsman" operation (this has long been a favorite idea of the Kennedys). He came out strongly for registration drives, long a favorite of party politicians who are convinced the Democrats couldn't lose if most everyone voted.

It was the things Senators Muskie and Kennedy omitted from their texts that left some people uneasy. This concern can best be summed up in a phrase – Mayor Richard Daley and Chicago. The activists of the "new politics" want assurance from men like Muskie and Kennedy that they'll stand up to the Daleys of the party when the time comes to apply the guidelines of the McGovern Commission. To these activists, the best proof this will happen would be an open disavowal of Mayor Daley and the forces that controlled the Chicago convention. Now.

For instance, in 1968 the Daley-controlled state central committee in Illinois picked 70 of the state's 120 delegates. Only 48 (two from each district) were elected in the primary, the remaining two being Daley-named members of the national committee. It's hard to believe Mayor Daley will willingly risk the loss of that kind of power.

Fears are fanned by the reluctance of party leaders to talk about Chicago. Typical was the fallout from a question tossed at Sen. Kennedy by David Mixner, a 24-year-old McCarthy activist who is a member of the commission. In a mildly-worded question, he asked Sen. Kennedy to comment on Chicago and whether a recurrence could be prevented. Senator Kennedy ducked a chance to disavow Mayor Daley by calling Chicago "regrettable." And at lunch, two of the ladies of the commission, both from the ranks of the regulars, gave Mr. Mixner some motherly advice: "My dear David," purred one, "don't talk about Chicago. It's not good for the party." At the same time, Kennedy is courting the "new politics" people in Connecticut. He refused a bid to speak at a John Bailey fund-raising event because Joe Duffey, the "new politics" candidate against Sen. Tom Dodd next year, wouldn't clear it.

Like the regulars, the young activists have a constituency to worry about, one still in shock over Chicago and insistent that the events which led up to that confrontation and the forces that directed it be disavowed. This constituency, moderate in the sense that it might try the electoral process again, is under siege from the radicals, who've picked up the ball and are running in another direction. Their fears were summed up by Sen. McCarthy, who warned that the same students at Berkeley who shouted down the dissenters when he asked them to try the electoral process in 1968, wouldn't do so today.

There will be a series of hearings on the road, where ordinary voters who aren't concerned with Presidential prospects will be able to put the party's problem in a better perspective. Then the guidelines for participation in the 1972 convention will be published. The real test of the party's willingness to reform itself will come thereafter. Party leaders are going to have to go to their state legislatures to ask for changes that, in the case of men like Mayor Daley, will endanger their grip on the party.

What if they won't and, despite the guidelines laid down, they still control a majority of the delegates in 1972? This prospect, combined with the reluctance of party leaders to openly discuss Chicago and the blandness of the Presidential aspirants in their public testimony, is enough to cause some worry.

The sincerity of a George McGovern and the commitment of a Harold Hughes may not be enough.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Laird and Leaks

Managed Propaganda, Condoned Disorder?

by John Osborne

At the morning meeting of the President's senior staff on April 28, Henry A. Kissinger, the assistant for national security affairs, was asked about the latest of many news reports to the effect that Mr. Nixon has decided to withdraw large numbers of troops from Vietnam this year and intends to do it regardless of what happens in the Paris negotiations and in Vietnam. Kissinger said that the report was not correct. There had been no such decision, there was no such intention. Then where, he was asked, were the persistent rumors to the contrary coming from? "One must assume," Kissinger replied, "that they are coming from the seventh floor of the State Department."

The seventh floor is where Secretary of State William P. Rogers, Under Secretaries Elliott Richardson and U. Alexis Johnson, and the Secretary's *de facto* chief of staff, department Counselor Richard Pedersen, have their offices. When the President was asked at a press conference on April 18 whether he was "considering now the unilateral withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam," he answered: "I am not. If we are to have a negotiating position at the Paris peace talks, it must be a position in which we can negotiate from strength, and discussion about unilateral withdrawal does not help that position." The word was passed that there was to be no official departure whatever from his statement of troop policy at the same conference: "It is the aim of this Administration to bring men home just as soon as our security will allow us to do so. . . . There are three factors that we are going to take into consideration: the training of the South Vietnamese, their ability to handle their own defense; the level of fighting in South Vietnam, whether or not the offensive action of the enemy recedes; and progress in the Paris peace talks. . . . I think there are good prospects that American forces can be reduced, but . . . we have no plans to reduce our forces until there is more progress on one or all of the three fronts that I have mentioned." Secretary Rogers stimulated expectations of withdrawal but stayed within the President's guidelines when he said three days later that, "We are not prepared to assume that the only alternative to early progress in the peace talks is an indefinite extension of our present role."

Lairdsville

The reports "on high authority" that the President is determined to reduce the forces in Vietnam this year, progress or no progress on his three fronts, continued to appear. Some of them read as if they came from Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, who during his years in Congress and during the Nixon campaign last year was a practiced planter of unattributed items. An inquirer into this possibility at the Pentagon was advised to look instead toward the President's Director of Communications, Herbert Klein. The White House press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, seemed to be more amused than disturbed when he acknowledged at a routine briefing that the President was "aware" of the reports and, the press was allowed to suppose, doing nothing to halt them. Now here was Kissinger, the President's staff adviser on foreign policy and the architect of current Vietnam policy, inviting his fellows at the top of the White House establishment to "assume" that the reports originated in the vicinity of Mr. Nixon's dear friend and long-time associate, the Secretary of State. Kissinger himself firmly refused to go beyond the public position in off-record conversations and was said to believe that the reports that he attributed to "the seventh floor" had diminished what chance there may have been to persuade the Hanoi representatives in Paris to negotiate a mutual withdrawal of American and North Vietnamese forces.

A student of the Administration suggested to two White House officials, one of high rank and one of middle rank, that these goings-on reflected either a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather transparent job of managed propaganda, aimed at pacifying opponents of the war, or a state of condoned disorder behind the facade of Nixon order. The ranking official smiled and said nothing. The junior official grimaced: "Let us hope that it is the former." His tone indicated a suspicion that it is the latter.

There certainly is more disorder behind the facade than the early show of Nixon efficiency indicated. Henry Kissinger's expanded national security operation, for instance, is hardly the model of efficiency that the President, among others, has imagined it to be. The section heads of Kissinger's staff, men of some distinction in their various fields, rarely see him except at National Security Council meetings dealing with their subjects. Kissinger has refused so far to appoint a deputy with overall authority, and he himself is so burdened with the President's demands and with Council business that he has no time for orderly management of the staff. The backlog of unattended policy paper on his desk is always enormous. He goes at it by fits and starts, and tries to make up for the delays by demanding responses to his inquiries, from his own staff and from the Department of State, within what the victims consider to be impossibly short time limits. There is no evidence that all of this has affected the quality of Kissinger's service to the President, which is what matters, but it contrasts oddly with the image of cool proficiency that the Nixon White House tries to project.

For an example of serious botchery, let us turn to the ABM issue and the Administration's management of it. Behind his appearance of aggressive confidence, there is no sadder figure in Washington than Defense Secretary Laird. He is said at the Pentagon to sense that he somehow failed, in his televised testimony before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations committees, to put himself and the Safeguard system he was defending across as he intended to do. He said at one point that he wanted more than anything else to be remembered as "the Secretary of Peace," and at another that his mother had told him after one of his appearances that the average viewer would be expecting the world to go up in nuclear dust. How is it, he keeps asking his intimates, that his talk about giant Soviet SS-9 rockets and the Soviet's aiming for a "first-strike capability" could have been so misunderstood? Cartoons like the one printed here are said to pain him deeply. Was he not, as a Congressman, known as "Mr. Health" because of his long and effective advocacy of large appropriations for health care and research? Surely, he says in private, sensible citizens cannot fail to realize that he would much rather be devoting the billions now going for defense to the nation's social needs. He must have done something wrong, he acknowledges, but he cannot for the life of him figure what it was.

The President, watching the opposition to Safeguard mount in the Senate and in the country, should be able to figure it out if he puts his mind to it. All he has to do is remember certain episodes in the 1968 campaign. Congressman Laird accompanied the candidate as his official hatchet-man, saying the rude things and dropping hints of Democratic perfidy that were thought to be too crass for Mr. Nixon. On at least two occasions, Congressman Laird overspoke himself and Nixon had to explain away, as best he could, the resultant messes. Just why, after this experience, President Nixon placed Melvin Laird at the head of the Defense Department is a puzzle that becomes more interesting by the day.

The Popular Election of Future Presidents

Wait a Minute!

by Alexander M. Bickel

The House Judiciary Committee last week approved a proposal for a constitutional amendment abolishing the electoral college and substituting direct popular election of Presidents. While he had said initially that popular election was not his first preference, Mr. Nixon later told a press conference that if the Senate and House adopted the proposal, he would support it. And now the President is quoted as promising that he will, given Congressional approval of the amendment, "throw the full weight of his office behind the drive for ratification." The amendment would be effective one year after the 21st day of January following ratification by three-quarters (38) of the state legislatures. Thus, the chances that a President will be elected by direct popular vote in 1976, though probably not in 1972, look better than they ever have. But perhaps

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Congress and the country may still be induced to pause for a second thought.

One objection to the electoral college as it now operates is that it can put in office a minority President – not merely, like any other system being discussed, a plurality President, but a candidate who had fewer votes than his chief opponent. That is indeed theoretically possible, and it has happened once in normal circumstances, though not in this century. But it is at all likely to happen only when the election is a toss-up, as in 1888, when 100,000 votes divided Cleveland from Benjamin Harrison. In such circumstances, it is pretty doctrinaire to think of either man as the popular winner. If there were no other considerations in play, it might be as well not to run even this risk. But other considerations are in play, and they are very substantially more important.

Proponents of the popular election claim that the electoral college is malapportioned in favor of the small states. And so it is, formally, because the electoral college assigns to each state as many electoral votes as the state has Congressmen and Senators, and each state has, of course, two Senators regardless of its population; and it gets one Congressman even if the state is a good bit smaller than any single Congressional district in, say, New York. If each state's electoral vote were divided – precisely or approximately – in proportion to the popular vote cast for each Presidential candidate, the malapportionment would be quite real, and might have considerable effect. (Mr. Nixon has said that proportional division of the electoral vote is what he would like to see done.) But as things now stand, we do not have a proportional system. The electoral votes of each state are cast by the unit rule – winner takes all. This is not constitutionally required, but it has been the uniformly followed practice for well over a century.

Owing to the operation of the unit rule, the malapportionment in the electoral college in favor of the small states is for the most part only apparent, not in practice real. The candidate who carries New York or Illinois by a 50,000 or even 5,000 plurality or majority gets a greater number of electoral votes than he can obtain by carrying several smaller states by larger popular majorities. For this reason, the system is malapportioned in favor of the big industrial states, in which party competition is vigorous, and which generally swing by relatively small percentages of the popular vote. Not only that; the system is in effect malapportioned in favor of cohesive interest, ethnic or racial groups within those big states, which often go very nearly en bloc for a candidate, and can swing the state's entire electoral vote.

Mr. John F. Banzhaff, III has expressed all this mathematically. Defining voting power as "the ability to affect decisions through the process of voting," he has concluded that voters in New York and California have over two and one-half times as much voting power (*i.e.*, as much chance to affect the national result in a Presidential election) as voters in smaller states. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, even Massachusetts are also substantially advantaged. This fact governs the strategy of modern Presidential campaigns and the decision of the nominating conventions, and has in our day resulted in the orientation of the Presidency, as a rule, toward an urban constituency. That orientation of the Presidency, countervailing a tendency in Congress toward more conservative, rural and small-town attitudes, would be less secure under a system of popular election. With popular elections, a hard campaign aimed at New York or California could get a candidate some few hundred thousand votes that he might not otherwise have obtained. So would a campaign designed to appeal to the Southern or the Mountain states, let us say. There is more paydirt now in large industrial states. If Presidents were elected by popular vote, there might be more to gain elsewhere.

On balance, therefore, the smaller states, especially those that are relatively homogeneous and nearly one-party, should prefer popular election over the present system. But that does not mean that some small-state Senators and Representatives may not also perceive possible advantages in the present system. There is first of all a symbolic value in play for the small states, since the electoral college, on its face, confirms the federal structure, and the equality, as in the Senate, of all states, large and small. Secondly, circumstances are conceivable in which tiny shifts of popular votes in a group of small states, combined with equally minor shifts in at least one big state, could swing the election, regardless of the total national popular vote. In 1960, small shifts of popular votes, totalling no more than some 11,000, in New Mexico, Hawaii and Nevada, as well as in Illinois and Missouri, could have put Nixon in office.

The possibility of such a decisive role falling to a group of small states is highly remote. Actually, it is small margins of the popular vote in the big states that have often been decisive, and in any event, this much greater likelihood exerts its powerful influence on the nominating process, and on the nature of Presidential campaigns. But some small-state Senators and Representatives may take comfort in the other possibility, however remote; they may think it worthwhile to retain the present system because circumstances are conceivable in which the apparent and generally ineffective malapportionment in favor of the small states may actually work out that way. This is a remote expectation, but it is not an irrational one, and those who entertain it are entitled to it. The fact that they may entertain it does not alter the realities that should control the judgment of Rep-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resentatives from large states. It simply happens that the electoral college can satisfy, at once, the symbolic aspirations and remote hopes of the small states, and the present, practical needs of the large ones. Not many human institutions work out quite as artistically as that.

Whatever its other effects and consequences might be, a system of popular election would seriously endanger the two-party system, and hence the stability of our politics. The electoral college makes it impossible for a third-party candidacy to have any sort of an impact, to entertain any hopes of deadlocking the election and thus putting itself in a good bargaining position, unless it has a strong regional base. And even George Wallace, who did take five Southern states in '68 couldn't do it. For a third-party candidate can get up to 20 percent or more of the popular vote, and yet no or very few electoral votes. And so third-party candidacies that have a general national appeal are effectively deterred. Popular election, on the other hand, would invite them; and it would do so without deterring the regional candidacies that are now possible. In order not to put plurality Presidents with weak mandates in office, the popular election amendment now before us provides for a run-off in the event that no candidate achieves 40 percent of the popular vote. One strong minor party candidate, or several weaker ones together, would stand an excellent chance of keeping anyone from getting 40 percent, and thus of putting themselves in a worthwhile bargaining position in the period between the first election and the run-off.

Candidates like Eugene McCarthy or Nelson Rockefeller gave little thought in 1968 to making an independent race after they lost the nomination, because a popular vote of even as much as 25 percent could well have left them with no electoral votes at all. But under a system of popular election, every consideration that brought forth issue-oriented candidates for the nomination would with equal or even greater force propel them into the general election. There is a strong possibility, if not probability, that under a system of popular election the run-off would be typical; the major party nomination would count for much less than it now does; there would be little inducement to unity in each party following the conventions; coalitions would be formed not at conventions but during the period between the general election and the run-off; and the dominant positions of the two major parties would not long be sustained. This sort of unstructured, volatile multi-party politics may look more open. So it would be – infinitely more open to demagogues, to quick-cure medicine men, and to fascists of left and right. Where a multi-party system has been tried, it has been found costly in just this way, and it has scarcely yielded the ultimate in participatory democracy or good government.

Another benefit of the present system, as Professor Ernest J. Brown of the Harvard Law School has pointed out, is that it "isolates and insulates charges of voting irregularities." Most frequently, a shift in popular votes, even if it should change the result in a state, will not affect the national outcome. Claims of voting irregularity are consequently not often pursued. But if everything depended on the total popular vote, we would very likely face in each close election, as Professor Brown has said, "reexamination of every ballot box and voting machine in the country, not to mention also the records of registration and qualification of voters." We could not possibly continue to let the states run the elections as they now do. Centralized federal control of qualifications for voting very probably, and centralized federal control of the counting process certainly, would be essential. There is no call, perhaps, to be unduly alarmed at this prospect. We are not quite a South American republic yet. But there is no use blinking the fact, either, that central control of vote counting opens up opportunities for national manipulation. Nobody is likely to seize these opportunities in the near future, but surely it is better that they not be available.

To approve of the present electoral college system as in essence more equitable and safer than any substitute that has been proposed is not to say that it is perfect. It needs prompt improvement in at least two respects. There is no good reason why an elector should be free – as in theory the electors are now free – to vote his own personal preference and thus break the unit rule. To make sure that this cannot happen, the electors should be abolished as such, and the electoral vote of each state should be cast automatically for the popular winner.

Another fault of the present system – although it has actually manifested itself only once since passage of the 12th amendment in 1804 – is that in the event that no one has a clear majority of the electoral vote, a President is chosen by the House of Representatives. But members of the House on such an occasion do not vote individually, in the usual fashion. Rather each state's delegation polls itself, and a majority of each delegation then casts its state's vote, one vote per state, whether New York or Alaska. This method has nothing to commend it. Election by a majority of the individual votes of members of the House would be infinitely preferable, as would election by a joint session of Congress, each Senator and Representative casting one equal vote. Representative Bingham of New York has proposed a run-off *within* the electoral college system, and that is also a possible cure. Otherwise, however, the electoral college needs no fundamental change. And as John F. Kennedy said in 1956, quoting Falkland, "When it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr.Gorton's Australia

A Country in Search of a Role

by Ross Terrill

Melbourne

LBJ was sentimental about Australia, and said in Canberra on one of his two visits as President: "As a Texan I feel that this land is my own." (Eight months previously, Vice President Humphrey said in the same city: "This morning as I awakened and looked out and felt the crisp air I knew then it was almost like Minnesota.") Nixon is another matter. Until this week's visit of John G. Gorton to Washington, how many on the White House staff knew the present Australian Prime Minister from a kangaroo?

Yet the Cabinet in Canberra thinks Australia is important to the US, and they may be correct. Australia is probably the largest single center for American missile and space matters outside the US. US investment in Australia totals about $3.5 billion; Americans own nearly one-tenth of all Australian company assets. Australia is the only ally of the US in Vietnam which needs no aid or subsidy for its efforts. More and more tired or bitter Americans emigrate to Australia, the "last frontier," in whose expanses they can, they hope, flex their muscles and feel like men.

What goes on in this Great South Land where the sheep outnumber the people ten to one? How will it fit into Nixon's plans for the Asia of tomorrow?

Next to me in the plane from Sydney to Melbourne was a wizened, leathery rancher of 82, from near Alice Springs, a town of dust and legend in the heart of Australia. Noticing me decline a snack he delivered a reproach: "When I was your age I'd eat ten times that, and 'arf a sheep as well." His tongue oiled by whisky, this tough denizen of the outback spoke of his life among the cattle. Sensing my ignorance he stopped. "God, are you a Pommie [Englishman] or something? Or a bloody Yank?" He looked at my check jacket and grimaced: "Yes, a bloody Yank."

Australia is the most urbanized country in the world. Yet its myths are those of the outback: endless desert, parching heat, snakes and crocodiles, ranches twice the size of Great Britain, comradeship in the face of a merciless nature. The country-dwellers produce the exports, notably wheat, wool, minerals, meat. The city-dwellers might as well be on another planet. In Melbourne and Sydney – containing five million people between them – there exists a sophisticated cultural and intellectual life. The home of Joan Sutherland and Melba has produced as many stars for the opera houses of the northern hemisphere as any country. Australian art now commands worldwide attention. Yet outside the intellectual pockets, a bare-minded philistinism prevails. The middle-class segment which reads books and takes a passing interest in foreign policy is tiny.

Beyond them is a bronzed, back-slapping, amiable mass, for whom foreign affairs and the world of ideas might as well not exist. Their wages are high and their horizons are narrow. It is hard to say which hits you most: the pockets of real quality; the egalitarian spirit (called "mateship" in Australian tradition); the defiant unconcern about the outside world. You find complacency, yet also a self-deprecatory spirit. The explanation for the paradox is provincialism. Australians are half aware of their provinciality (thus self-deprecatory), half unaware of it (thus complacent).

To most older Australians, Britain is "home" or "the old country"; the monarchy commands real loyalty. But younger Australians are as interested in Japan, the US, or Indonesia as in Britain. There are some 15,000 students from Asia. Some two million Australians (the total population is 12½ million) are immigrants who have arrived from Britain and Europe within the past twenty years. Though the biggest single national group is from Britain, the majority are from continental Europe.

Little of the postwar social and cultural transformation has yet been registered in the sphere of politics. Canberra, the capital city (some call it the capital village), is a quiet town of 150,000. It has none of the prestigious Australian newspapers, and politicians often get away with murder. The former foreign minister who has just become the Queen's representative as governor general (Sir Paul Hasluck) seldom deigned to hold a press conference. Ministers ban books as if they were dealing with a high school class. The following books, among hundreds of others, have been considered unfit for the delicate Aussies: *The*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gingerman, Last Exit to Brooklyn, The Naked Lunch, Another Country, The Carpetbaggers. The men of the Cabinet are for the most part simple, rather narrow men.

The biggest contrast of all is between Australia's geography and history. Founded as a place for excess British convicts, Australia has long been, in a phrase of its prime minister of the 1950's, "British to the bootstraps." But the umbilical cord has been snapped. In cold hard defense terms, Prime Minister Wilson made that clear in 1968. The realities of geography crystallize. The older generation tend to think of Australia as a white island in a brown sea. Younger people, at least those of the left and the center, have begun to think regionally. They envisage Australia as an equal partner in a multi-racial community of Asian states.

In foreign and defense policy, the Gorton government has made some notable recent decisions. It had to respond to three developments. First, Britain's announcement that after 1971 it will maintain no forces in Asia, except to defend the commercial jewel of Hong Kong. Ever since Captain Cook reached Sydney in 1770, Australians have thought of the British as modern Romans, extending their power and polity across the globe as if by right. Now they face the spectacle of these "Romans" turning into "Italians."

Second, the crisis in US Asian policy brought about by Vietnam has left the Australian government uncertain as to the future US role in Asia. There is deep doubt that Washington will for long sustain its massive commitments in Asia. Gorton's predecessor as prime minister, Harold Holt – who drowned off a Melbourne beach eighteen months ago – brought Canberra closely into line with the policies of Washington. But his naive cry, "All the way with LBJ," now rings bitterly.

There is of course uncertainty as to the final terms of the Vietnam settlement. There is the realization in Canberra (though not, I think, in the nation at large; otherwise Gorton would not have such an easy time politically) that Australia will have no control over this final settlement. The withdrawal of the 8,500 Australian troops, however much the fact may be disguised, will be negotiated essentially between the US and the Vietnamese.

Third, Canberra has to come to terms with the fact of Chinese nuclear capacity. Having been attacked by Japan in 1942, Australia has some apprehension about its giant neighbors to the north. The Chinese bomb dramatizes this concern.

On February 25, Mr. Gorton announced that Australia, in association with New Zealand, would keep land, sea and air forces in the Malaysia-Singapore area after Britain leaves in 1971. Traditionally, Australian foreign policy could be summed up as loyalty toward a powerful protector. Until 1941 the protector was Britain; thereafter, increasingly the US. From World War I until Vietnam, Australian troops have fought all over the world. It was assumed to be the tribute of loyalty that Australia had to pay in order to win protection. Seldom did Australian governments think in regional terms (the exception was the Labour Party Government of the 1940's).

To some extent Harold Holt turned Australian attention toward the Asian region. But for Holt the thrust into Asia was only the reverse side of his "All the way with LBJ" commitment. He fused history and geography by the rather shallow means of embracing the Asian policy of the leading Western power. When LBJ went back to Texas, it was hard to see what remained of Holt's Asian policy. Now Gorton has announced a measure of regional involvement. He is an original, suspicious man. Determined to think out the issues himself, he took a long time to do it. But he comes to Washington this week with the decision made. It is a change from the smiling passivity of Holt.

Gorton is in a strong position at home. True, there has been a flurry of rumors linking him with the daughter of Judy Garland, and with the daughter of an Opposition (Labour Party) member of Parliament. A crude man with few graces, Gorton admits he "enjoys talking to girls." Actually his forthright style is a political asset, not a liability. Australians distrust intellectuals and "tall poppies."

What do the Australians want in Washington? Having made their own commitment to the defense of the South-Asian subregion, they seek assurance of some complementary or residual American commitment. If there broke out a conflict too big for 1,200 troops and 40 planes to handle – and it is hard to imagine any other kind – Canberra would like to know that the US would back Australia up. Not for the first time, the Australians will seek to correct the one-sided balance of trade between the two countries. The continual deficit that Australia suffers is added to by US barriers against Australian products such as wool, lead, and zinc.

Then too, Gorton wants to get the clearest available US position on possible troop withdrawals from Vietnam. The issue is a thorny one in Australia. One man who was with Gorton on the evening of March 31, 1968, will not soon forget the Prime Minister's reaction to the "I will not run" speech of LBJ. He apparently stormed and cursed, feeling he had been inadequately consulted. His own foreign minister had said just five days previously: "What impression of resolution and determination would the allies give to the embattled, wartorn, suffering people of South

---

Ross Terrill *is an Australian who is currently a teaching fellow in political science at Harvard.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vietnam if the controlled and selective bombing of North Vietnam were to be terminated?"

Other topics on the Australian list may include China, and the Indian Ocean. Australia, whose exports to Communist China total some $150 million a year, must recognize Peking soon. But its present government is reluctant to act against US wishes (a Labour Party government, in power at the time of the Chinese Revolution, was about to recognize Peking when Britain did, but lost an election before the step was taken). Mr. Gorton will be interested in the attitude of the State Department to the Canadian and Italian moves toward Peking ties, and the preparations being made by Belgium and Luxemburg. Nature abhors a vacuum, and so does Canberra, at least when it comes to the Indian Ocean. Though unsure whether the Ocean matters very much militarily – the trade routes to the Middle East and Europe do matter – the government fears that if this "lake up for auction" is left "empty" the Russians will fill it.

Some people, in Australia and in Asia, are less sure than Gorton that an Aussie garrison at Singapore is wise and worthwhile. Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia do not form a coherent, self-contained sub-region. As the leader of the Labour Party, Gough Whitlam, often insists, Indonesia is the most important country in the area; yet it is absent from the new defense arrangements, and largely silent about them. Also, it is hard to see what kind of crises the Australian garrison could cope with. Gorton says internal subversion will not be its business, and that if the crisis were a major one, powers "outside the region" would have to be drawn in. What kind of crises lie in between these two types?

There is something oddly static about Canberra's conceptions of defense. The Australian forces will be stationed abroad on the basis of the Anglo-Malayan Defense Agreement. Quite apart from revealing the vestigial imperialism of the whole venture, this may preclude the forces being used anywhere other than the country where they are garrisoned. A demonstrated capacity to rapidly deploy a force, from a base in northern Australia, might be a better approach. It was widely hoped that a multi-racial Commonwealth brigade could have been formed. Whitlam said a garrison force makes no contribution to the defense capacities of the Asian allies; that it is better to help train and equip their forces – for example, with radar and electronics, which the British formerly provided and Australia could now provide. It is hard to disagree with Whitlam's view that the scheme expresses a "forward defense" philosophy which events have now gutted. For Australia at least, forward defense meant an attempt, by cooperating with the US in Korea and Vietnam and with Britain in Malaysia, to keep both powers militarily involved on the Asian mainland. But both powers are edging away from that involvement.

It seems Gorton is basically just plugging a hole in the British left. All the ghosts of Australian misconceptions about Asia show out from his mind. The *Bangkok Post* wrote on February 28 that Gorton "creates the impression that the basis of Australia's relations with the Asian region is apprehension and unease." Older Australians, especially those in power, do give this impression. The patriarchal Menzies used each year to tour the world – that is London and Washington – then give a report to the nation that managed to be magisterial in style yet paleolithic in content. On Vietnam he expressed views which are still dominant.

> "Suppose they (the US) withdrew. Does anybody with his five wits doubt that before very long Chinese Communism acting through North Vietnamese Communism would sweep down through South Vietnam, would put itself in an early position to control Thailand, to render the position of Malaya almost intolerable, putting Malaysia between two fires and that therefore in the long run, and not so very long a run at that, we would find ourselves with aggressive Communism almost on our shores just across the water from us?"

Primitive by US standards, but par for the course in Canberra under present rule. Canberra has always found a simple solution to frightening complexities in Asia: latch loyally onto "great and powerful friends," then eat, drink and be merry.

In the more lonely seventies, Australia might find that, having slept lustfully with great and powerful friends, she has invited the unwelcome attentions of great and powerful enemies. US bases in Australia, especially the U-2 bases and the vital communications base at North West Cape, would be lush targets for a country that wanted to clip US wings in the Pacific or Indian Oceans, or make a move against the US without incurring the certain retaliation that an attack on the US itself would provoke.

No two countries have identical national interests,

COMING: Eric Bentley and numerous others comment on Robert Brustein's article — "The Case for Professionalism"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

least of all when they are separated by 8,000 miles of Pacific Ocean. It is not impossible for the US to withdraw its permanent installations from the whole area. But Australia has to remain and face whatever music is playing. It cannot afford to be rigid or provocative. The Sydney magazine *Nation* put its finger on the problem: "Economic stagnation and sporadic insurrections in Asia are the perspective for the next generation, and towards this Mr. Gorton hasn't begun to evolve an attitude, except to keep the Communists out." Warding Asia off is no substitute for finding a way to live in Asia.

And what of Mr. Nixon's plans? In Australia, as in Bangkok and Manila, there are suspicions that the US is losing its nerve in Asia. Tortured by mingled idealism, guilt, and failure in Vietnam, might the US set aside imperial burdens? Most Australians, and perhaps most Asians, would not like to see the US disengage totally. Certainly Gorton will urge upon Nixon the importance of continued US involvement all over Asia.

Ten years ago Australia had a choice between vicarious globalism, ideologically inspired, expressed in a loyalty-to-a-protector type of foreign policy; and a largely regional approach, based upon Australian national interests alone, abjuring strong commitment on the issues of global ideological struggle. Now there may be less choice. Asia in the 1970's promises to be a place of fluid loyalties and lineups, where the American hand and purse are less decisive than today. To hold a distant hand, however powerful, may no longer be the definition of security. Australia may have to roll up its sleeves, bury the remnants of White Australia, dissolve fear with knowledge, and find a role as one Asian country among others.

There Has Been a Revolutionary Seizure of Power

Mao and the New Mandate

by Edgar Snow

What kind of domestic and foreign policies may we expect from China now that the Ninth Communist Party Congress has proclaimed victory for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution?

Will Mao launch a new Great Leap Forward and press on toward uncompromising Communist goals? Or will he, now that the top revisionists are immured, utilize some of their pragmatic means to restore stability, while consolidating and uniting his new power bases? Will China retain an inflexible posture toward the outer barbarians? Or seek to divide its enemies by offering some negotiable terms of peaceful coexistence in order to recover ground lost in diplomatic maneuver and trade expansion since 1965? Or will Mao soon leave these questions to be decided by others, now that the new constitution names Lin Piao as his successor and also enshrines the Thought of Mao Tse-tung as the permanent ideology of the Party?

Speculation is permissible, but it is too early to answer those questions with any certainty, except for the last one. During a long interview with Mao Tse-tung published in 1965 he twice said to me, "I am soon going to see God." He said that he had waited for death for a long time; many comrades had been taken, but death just did not seem to want him yet. Was he about to retire – or did he say that in order to mislead wishful-thinking enemies? Not long afterward he disappeared from public view and press reportage for many months. When he surfaced again it was in the spring of 1966 and the people saw him victoriously swimming the Yangtze River. "Long live Mao Tse-tung!" shouted the youths soon to be "long-marching" as Red Guards.

Evidently Mao had concluded that his rendezvous with God had to be postponed until he had completed one more great battle – in many ways the most audacious and astonishing of his life. His rise

---

EDGAR SNOW *reported from China for* The Chicago Tribune *and the* New York Sun, *was an associate editor of* The Saturday Evening Post, *correspondent for* Look *magazine, and is the author of* Random Notes on Red China, *and* The Battle for Asia. *His interview with Mao Tse-tung appeared in our issue of February 27, 1965.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from the waters of the Yangtze signaled the beginning of a vast purge called the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. As long as he remains able-bodied and able-minded, the Great Helmsman is not likely to turn over the wheel to anyone else.

By mid-April, 1969, Mao had largely destroyed the former central Party majority and replaced it with a new coalition of forces pledged to maintain his absolute authority. At the Ninth CCP Congress, held in Peking, 1,512 newly minted delegates have unanimously nullified the old Party constitution and adopted one reputedly drafted by Mao himself. Of the 176 persons named to the presidium of the Congress – shortly to constitute the core of the new Central Committee – fewer than one-quarter (42) were holdovers from the former CC. That is, more than three-fourths of the senior members of the Party had been dropped from top-level leadership. Among delegations from the provincial and regional revolutionary committees – which had completed the purging – all but two were led to the Congress by men connected with the armed forces; 35 percent of all the delegates had army affiliations and in the new Central Committee of 279 members chosen by the Ninth Congress no fewer than 100 are of military rank. Evidently the long series of anti-revisionist struggles had displaced from one-half to three-quarters of the senior cadres who had been in local or central positions of authority before Mao "bombarded the headquarters" of his former heir apparent, Liu Shao-ch'i, the constitutional chief of state.

Thus there has indeed been a revolutionary seizure of power. The former Party and State administrative bureaucracies, headed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, and other purged members of the Politburo, have been dissolved. Mao's "proletarian headquarters" continually referred to the revisionists as a "handful" of those in authority who followed the capitalist road, but the handful ran into hundreds of thousands and possibly more.

At every level younger cadres – aggressive, ambitious, possibly more idealistic, certainly less privileged – have unseated older cadres held guilty by association with the Liu Shao-ch'i control apparatus. A bureaucratic seniority system – holding majority control in a Central Committee of a Party which itself is a minority of the populace – was broken up by a revolt led by the Party chieftain. And the survivors and newcomers are now feeling their way into a new structure of power, enjoined by the Party constitution to guarantee "uninterrupted revolution."

Such are the concrete facts. Many foreign observers have been saying that Mao has destroyed the Communist Party. Is that so? Perhaps it is. The old system seems shattered beyond renovation; what now exists is a Sino-Marxist Communist Party or a Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. The new constitution cuts all ties with the Soviet-patterned parties and its emphasis is on ideological purity. If versions thus far published are correct, only the vaguest program is included; detailed programming would, by implication, be indicated by central directives.

There are far too many innovations to list here. In brief, the Maoist constitution gives maximum authority to the Party leader and a small group at the top to "produce" (rather than simply elect) whatever administrative and political organs are required to govern. The intention is to maintain a direct "mass line" of communications with the people, unimpeded by any legally constituted bureaucratic power.

Many foreign observers have also predicted that Mao cannot stabilize a government on such a basis. Is that so? Chinese history teaches us that no regime has collapsed there (in both imperial and republican eras) until: 1) it "lost the mandate of heaven," or rule by consent of the people; 2) it became soft and corrupted beyond hope of redemption or fulfillment of traditional expectations of virtuous rule, and the dynastic cycle ended; 3) internal contradictions reached a crisis of disunity faced by armed rebellion or foreign invasion. However bizarre the anomalies of the Cult of Mao may seem from afar, I believe Mao is personally revered by most of the peasants of China and has gone far toward winning the younger people to his banner; that the Cultural Revolution has, in the people's eyes, been necessary to prevent the formation of a corruptible (revisionist) elite; and that Mao has behind him the loyalty of the armed forces sufficient to handle internal factors of disunity. Until further evidence to the contrary is available, it would be prudent to assume that Mao still holds the "mandate of heaven."

Whether Mao will again become chairman of the government (as well as the Party) seems highly doubtful. Logically the National Congress would have to convene soon, if only to dismiss its titular chairman; but normally it should be summoned by the Standing Committee, of which Liu Shao-ch'i is still chairman. He is, incidentally, legally still the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and empowered to hire or fire the minister of defense, Lin Piao, as well as the premier, Chou En-lai. Unless he is physically incapacitated, or resigns – and there has been no official announcement to either effect – only Liu can legally convene a meeting to elect a new Congress – to rewrite the constitution of the Republic.

Such a meeting would seem mandatory in order to resolve the foregoing paradoxes, as well as to eliminate many of the trimmings in the constitution of the Chinese Republic borrowed from the "model" constitution of the USSR. That is outsider-logic, however. Of the recondite logic of inner events which determine current and future political necessities within

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China we know, of course, really very little.

It is instructive to note that whereas in Stalin's Russia such contradictions could have been quickly settled by the physical liquidation of the obstinate comrade who refused to resign, that has not happened in the case of Liu Shao-ch'i. Moreover, despite three years of a great purge, Liu Shao-ch'i alone was officially named as a top renegade and expelled from the Party by Mao's Central Committee in its communique of October, 1968. For the rest of the revisionists there presumably remains some hope of rehabilitation – even for P'en Teh-huai and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. This aspect of the Maoist revolution in itself suggests that, as in past rectifications, efforts at reconciliation follow tension and struggle. The slogan "struggle-criticism-transformation" was a feature of the last phase of the Cultural Revolution; with the election of the Ninth Congress, "transformation" is well advanced. The period ahead presumably will seek to restore unity – in implementation of the slogan: "Grasp revolution and increase production."

Whatever their genesis, the new organs of Chinese government are bound to uphold the Cult of Mao as a unifying faith. There is now nothing else. Once the Soviet Party had repudiated Stalinist ikons the Chinese could no longer invoke the authority of Moscow's infallibility. Even Liu Shao-ch'i had no alternative but to help deify Mao as the personification of revolutionary creativity, independence, and national self-esteem. Now, as throughout history, China puts a unique Sinitic stamp upon an imported culture, which at first appeared in the guise of a barbarian conquest. It is not by accident that the patriarchal Mao, depicted as the Red Sun, appears at the Heavenly Peace Gate where the Son of Heaven presided for ages long predating Karl Marx.

Major domestic policies will continue to stress Maoist solutions to the principal contradictions which arise from modernization by revolutionary means. The chief domestic contradictions remain: between patriarchal state power (dictatorship) and individual responsibility; between urban society and rural society (worker-economy versus peasant-economy); and between mental workers and physical workers. Underlying all of them is the antithesis between theory and practice (which propaganda and coercion seek to resolve by Mao's dictum, "politics in command") of technico-economic problems of social transformation.

The long-range goal is of course to erase the difference between town and countryside, to create a superior and socialist man from poor peasants and the proletariat, to bypass the wastelands of bourgeois society, and to prevent the rise of a new ruling-class which could mislead China into those wastelands.

In general economic planning, agriculture remains the foundation, with industry as the leading modernizing factor. In industry: state-market rather than consumer priorities; self-reliance, with selective foreign imports; working-class and army leadership, spurred by mixed hortatory (patriotic) and material incentives. In agriculture: poor-peasant commune management balanced between self-help (self-financing) and central guidance, with increased welfare programs and continuation of some material incentives (minimal private plots and pigs) while completing ideological and technical preparations for a new Leap Forward. In education: shortened college and middle-school courses; simplified and Mao-oriented curricula; half-time labor, half-time classroom work; self-support under commune, army, and worker-committee leadership, coordinated with centrally led priority programs for essential technico-scientific specialists. Generally: some physical work for all intellectuals; priority for modernization of the countryside over urban needs; integration of educated youth with rural life, shifting of advanced elements to backward and frontier areas, etc.

Obviously Mao will place principal reliance on the army in implementing all such programs and preventing the formation of new bureaucratic elites. Since 1935 Mao never relinquished his hold over the army – dominated through his chairmanship of the Party military-affairs committee – and once again has used

Heir Apparent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it to reassert his political authority. During the cultural purge Lin Piao retired many veteran senior officers and replaced them by officers of the younger generation. In 1949 Mao said: "The army is a school. Our field armies of 2,100,000 are equivalent to several thousand universities and secondary schools. We have to rely chiefly on the army to supply our cadres." With the disintegration of the old cadre-supply system – Liu Shao-ch'i's Party training schools, the Young Communist League, the former labor union educational system – the army emerges as the principal purified prep school for future cadres. Under Lin Piao – "Mao Tse-tung's best pupil" – the People's Liberation Army will develop the Yenan style of military and political training: egalitarianism; mastery of techniques and ideals of people's war; versatile service to the people combined with Maoist indoctrination.

Of course the People's Liberation Army – which Mao sees as the seedbed of true proletarian leadership for the younger generation – can supply only a percentage of the management personnel needed by the nation. Cadres in or detached from the PLA play a supervisory role. They provide the leaven between recruits newly introduced into leadership groups (through the revolutionary committees) and experienced Party cadres who survived the purge. Mao depends upon army leaders to help distinguish those among the newly educated youths who have completely integrated themselves with the peasants and workers from those still tainted by bourgeois intellectualism.

As for foreign policy? The new Party constitution "firmly upholds proletarian internationalism." It commits Party members to "work for the interests of China and the overwhelming majority of the whole world" – and sees no contradiction between the two interests. It provides that China "unite with all true Marxist-Leninists" and "oppressed peoples and nations" and at the same time calls for "fighting to overthrow modern revisionism headed by the Soviet renegade clique, and reactionaries in all countries." Since most parties claiming to be Marxist-Leninist are either dominated by the Soviet system or tending toward revisionism, the practical prospects of uniting them to achieve the other major aim defined by the constitution – "overthrow of imperialism headed by the United States" – seem remote.

Simply stated, while the above terms express the long-range strategic aspirations of Maoist China, near-term aspirations are more modest. "In the interests of China and the overwhelming majority of the world," Mao would like to halt the advance of the two great-power hegemonies. That is, to win respect for Chinese hegemony in her traditional political-cultural sphere of influence in East Asia: in effect, to revivify some of the old meaning of "China," which is chung-kuo, or "central realm." With Sino-Russian antagonism succeeding former unity on the ideological level, what remains is increasingly a great-power struggle. Logically, Peking might seek to prevent Russo-American collusion by offering some accommodation to other bourgeois powers interested in weakening them for reasons of their own.

Those who anticipate a "more flexible diplomacy" under the new mandate are encouraged by the reelection of Foreign Minister Ch'en Yi to the first dozen in the Central Committee, and by reports that China's ambassadors (withdrawn from abroad for two years of reeducation at home) will soon return to their posts in Asia, Europe, and Africa. That remains to be seen. [The Chinese press agency Hsinhua reports that Ch'en Yi is not on the new Politburo or its five-man committee, though Premier Chou En-lai is, as also are Ch'en Po-ta and Kang Sheng, two directors of the Cultural Revolution. Nine of the 21 Politburo members are military men.] What argues against expectations of a policy of détente is its fundamental irreconcilability with the strategic thinking of Mao Tse-tung, his reluctance to downgrade support for liberation struggles and people's wars in the Third World, and his conviction that only such intransigence can "serve the interests of China" in winning respect for her rightful place in the world.

Within that contradiction there remain, of course, many ways of maneuvering open to China if it felt weaknesses sufficient to justify courting neighboring and distant bourgeois states with whom relations have deteriorated or are nonexistent. It is my belief, however, that Mao is feeling no pain, as some imagine, from any sense of isolation. With de-escalation of the Vietnam conflict removing the immediate threat of an American war, and with a major domestic campaign safely behind him, Mao is in no mood to yield concessions of important principle in order to make his terms of peaceful coexistence more attractive.

In truth China is a huge continent in itself, and largely self-sufficient; foreign trade plays a negligible role in its economy compared to that of nations like Japan and England, and China already has outlets adequate to her needs. Thirdly, the Cultural Revolution has created an increasingly Sinocentric atmosphere akin to the day of Ch'ien Lung, of the eighteenth century. (When King George III sent a trade mission to Peking the Emperor rejected it, saying that "my capital is the hub of the universe," that it "lacks no product within its own borders," and that "there has been no hankering after heterodox doctrines," either.) To Mao, China is the world, and it is for the others to beat a footpath there.

That is not to say that Mao will reject any opportunity to enhance his or China's prestige by broad-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ening official relations with powers ready to disobey the United States or Russia. In the closing campaign days of the Cultural Revolution Peking gave several signs of renewing use of its long-dormant diplomatic power of maneuver. It wooed Rumania, vilified Russia for invading Czechoslovakia, and wrote an important trade agreement, the first in a decade, with that archetype of revisionism, Yugoslavia. It even proposed to renew Sino-American talks at Warsaw, of high significance, although the offer was temporarily withdrawn.

Governments of Canada and Italy are now pursuing a diplomatic entente with Peking, and West Germany is not far behind. Mao, Lin, and Chou En-lai are bound to see behind such moves the maneuvers of the new Nixon administration, but they must also consider them indicative of basic contradictions among the imperialists, of potential use to China. Mao is too implacably on record to permit any compromise over the Taiwan question. But if America's Western allies are prepared to ditch Chiang Kai-shek, affirm Peking's sovereignty in Taiwan, and recognize but one China, negotiations could be fruitful.

If matters went that far, then Japan would surely become restive. To many Japanese the treaty which binds them to the United States and its Taiwan policy could cause Japan to "lose China" – again. The question is whether Washington – with or without Tokyo's knowledge – is actively encouraging events to move as hypothesized above, in order to prepare American opinion for a drastic shift toward realistic Sino-American discussions. For both Japan and the United States a dissolution of the Taiwan protectorate would become conceivable only if a Vietnam solution preceded it. In any international treaty-making concerning Vietnam, China would have to be a participant. From a successful Vietnam meeting a general airing of Sino-American differences might follow.

A "general airing," yes – but a "general settlement"? That seems hardly attainable in Mao's remaining years. Only time, the growth of Chinese power, and heavily adverse experiences for American armed intervention in continental affairs seem to him likely to persuade Americans to cease and desist. But as long as Mao lives, he said in 1960, China would not resort to force to settle matters with the United States. In 1965 he told me that China would not go to war with the United States unless directly invaded. That was more than a year before Chou En-lai made the first such official statement – which touched upon a basic dispute with Chinese revisionists.

As between Soviet revisionism and American imperialism – particularly since China has the bomb – Mao may now regard Russia as the greater menace. Americans are not Asians and sooner or later must go home, Mao thinks. Russia is another matter. With Soviet troops facing China along an 8,000-kilometer frontier, and holding vast territories wrested from Peking's control scarcely a century ago, the long-range problem of peaceful coexistence seems more difficult. Mao may play it as such for popular-patriotic unifying reasons.

China suspects political motives behind Russia's recent and unprecedented agreements with Japanese entrepreneurs and traders to participate in development projects in Eastern Siberia – where American capital might also become involved. If Brezhnev & Co. were "revisionists" before the Cultural Revolution, events since then would have moved them from peaceful coexistence with "US imperialism" to something like courtship. That impression was furthered when Russian ships extended energetic help to American naval searches for a reconnaissance plane shot down along the North Korean coast in mid-April, and by gratuitous Soviet press support for American contentions that the plane had not violated Korean territory. The Soviet side of the Sino-Soviet armed disputes along the Ussuri River was reported by Moscow diplomats abroad seeking sympathetic understanding in the United States, Western Europe, Japan, and in the United Nations. Certainly any kind of Sino-American détente would – as Peking well knows – be unpleasant news to the Kremlin at this time.

As for China and the United Nations, Mao does not intend to accept any seat in that body under the present Charter. Even if Taiwan were unseated, and even if the UN resolution condemning China as an aggressor in Korea were annulled, what would it mean at this late date to give China, a nation of 700 millions, a single seat in the Assembly, beside Luxembourg or Costa Rica? And one seat there against three seats for Moscow? And in an organization completely dominated, in any case, by revisionists and imperialists? Mao scoffs at the idea. Let the gentlemen come up with something a bit more realistic. Meanwhile China loses nothing by continuing her dual policy of support for people's wars alternated with peaceful coexistence – learning to play the piano, as Mao says, with all ten fingers.

China's door may open a crack or two now, but "Auld Lang Syne" is not about to be heard in Peking. There is perhaps a fundamental contradiction between the prevalence of the Cult of Mao and any general opening up of China to foreign visitors who might be of a different opinion. How soon that contradiction is resolved "in the interests of China and the overwhelming majority of the world" depends as much on the speedy removal of those two roadblocks [US failure to recognize Peking's sovereignty in Taiwan and achieve a Vietnam settlement with Chinese participation] to two-way communication long erected on our side of the great misunderstanding, as it does on when Chairman Mao goes to see God.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Stanley Kauffmann on films

The Movies, Mr. Griffith, and Me by Lillian Gish with Ann Pinchot

(Prentice-Hall; $7.95)

The Studio by John Gregory Dunne

(Farrar, Straus & Giroux; $5.95)

For a long time, there have been rumors that Lillian Gish was writing an autobiography centered on D. W. Griffith. Ten years ago when I was in book publishing, I tried to get the manuscript and was told by Miss Gish that it did not yet exist. Now the book is published, and anyone with the smallest interest in films can be glad.

No one would reasonably expect it to be literature of any kind, and it isn't. Miss Gish has had a collaborator, which hasn't kept the style from being, at best, Newspaper Roman and, at worst, Subtitle Bold. ("The essence of virginity – purity and goodness, with nobility of mind, heart, soul and body – is the stuff out of which, under his prompting, I created heroines.") Also, being not only human but an actress, Miss Gish has quoted some pretty enthusiastic comments about herself, including an article by her late sister which ends: "I never cease to wonder at my luck in having for my sister the woman who, more than any other woman in America, possesses all the qualities of true greatness."

The wonder is not the presence of actress-ego but the small amount of it. She doesn't even mention that in 1932, Albert Bigelow Paine, Mark Twain's biographer, published a book called *Life and Lillian Gish*. And although her book is an actress's autobiography, roughly two-thirds of it is devoted to someone else.

Miss Gish went into films in September 1912. (I got the date elsewhere; specific dates are hard to find in her early pages!) She and her sister, Dorothy, who were child actresses, went down to visit a girl friend of theirs who was making pictures for Biograph at 11 East 14th St. in New York. (There's a delicatessen on the spot now, a block from my home, and I refuse to buy pastrami anywhere else.) They found that their friend Gladys Smith was now called Little Mary (Pickford, of course). Griffith saw them, tested them at once – Lionel Barrymore played in their test – then put them to work the same day as extras and the next day in roles. Miss Gish and Griffith worked together until after *Orphans of the Storm* in 1921, when he told her he could not afford to pay her what she was worth and urged her to go out on her own.

The success of leading actors and actresses in films often has much to do with their correspondence to public preconceptions. This was probably even truer in silent films when the figure was more of an abstraction. (If pictures were still silent, Candice Bergen might be a big star.) Miss Gish's presence and personality fit perfectly the concept of pure maidenhood that had developed in the 19th-century popular theatre, so well described by David Grimsted in his book, *Melodrama Unveiled*. It was not only the passage of time but the arrival of sound that ended Miss Gish's career in that vein: her voice simply did not support the virginal *persona*. Since then, I've seen most of her performances on stage and screen, and, whatever their quality, I've always been struck by the fact that she was, in a sense, forced to become an actress after a successful career as the cherished embodiment of an ideal.

Her book reveals a humorous counterpoint in her. She is hugely practical. Early in her career she realized – as did Chaplin and other silent stars – that she had to learn *everything* about this medium, so she "got to know a film from the time it was raw stock until it was shown to an audience." She directed a picture for Griffith's company, with her sister in the lead, and later she edited her own picture *Romola*. Her narrative is filled with cash figures. (Including one beautifully blithe sentence: "My contract with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer called for six pictures in two years, for which I would be paid, I believe, a million dollars." *I believe!*) She picked plays and novels for screen adaptation with a canny eye. The reader can only relish her private hardheadedness as seen against her public ethereality, whichever happens to be in the foreground at the moment.

As for D. W. Griffith, she gives us the fullest portrait we have yet had of this titanic man. Trotsky's famous remark about Céline is that he "walked into great literature as other men walk into their homes." In aptness of genius, at least, the same can be said of Griffith and film. By now it's a commonplace that he gave the new medium its grammar; he also gave it many of its aspirations. What we see, first and fundamentally, in Griffith is a change of mind toward film that epitomizes – precedes – a huge cultural shift. At first he was ashamed of being associated with "flickers"; he was a theatre actor and playwright, and he wanted to remain one. Within five years he had become oracular and evangelical on the subject of film.

Miss Gish, viewing him with understandable reverence, gives us dozens of personal glimpses. The first time she saw him, he "entered." He came down the 14th Street stairs singing "Là ci darem." Through her eyes, we see his rehearsals, his pranks, his pride of physique, his insights, his dignity. But, overshadowing all details is the sense of conjunction. The right man had come along at the right historical moment, and the result was a fury of creation that helped refashion the culture of the entire world.

There is no adequate book on Griffith. There are intensive studies of individual films. There is an atrocious book by Homer Croy called *Star Maker* (1959). There is a useful monograph by Iris Barry published by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which owns the Griffith papers, including an uncompleted autobiography. (The new edition of the Barry book, 1965, contains a revised version of Beaumont Newhall's interview with Billy Bitzer, Griffith's cameraman, and Eileen Bowser's annotated list of Griffith films.) Kevin Brownlow's recent *The Parade's Gone By* contains, with other Griffith material, a good interview with Joseph Henabery, who was

(Continued on page 32)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theodore Solotaroff: Holden Caulfield Meets the Movement

The Strawberry Statement by James Simon Kunen

(Random House; $4.95)

The Strawberry Statement is a journal by a sophomore at Columbia who was caught up in the events of last spring, and, as they say, "radicalized." The title comes from a remark by one of the deans that a university is not a democracy, and that students' opinions on such matters as the Institute for Defense Analyses and the Morningside gym have about as much significance as their telling him they like or dislike strawberries. So, as one of the unruly plebians of this modern Athens, James Simon Kunen sets about filling the authorities in on what he likes ("trees . . . wiliness in a good cause . . . nice policemen") and dislikes ("Texas . . . calling people consumers . . . racism, poverty, and war"), and goes on to record "the little things I've done and thought" during the rebellion and for a few months thereafter. The early sections, dealing with the rebellion, were published in *New York* and the *Atlantic* where they received a good deal of attention. Far from being a scrawny, hairy nihilist, Kunen showed himself to be a sort of mod version of the boy-next-door, a well-coordinated Holden Caulfield, who has gone to Andover, rows on the varsity crew, has a lingering fondness for "that old fascist," Walt Disney, and worries a lot about looting and damage while occupying President Kirk's office.

Then, presumably, along came an editor hot for a book on the generation gap that even parents would read. Though unimpressed by the opportunity ("this youth-cult scene is a disservice to everyone," he says at the start), Kunen went on filling up his spiral notebook while he hung around Columbia and the Movement for the rest of the summer, fell in love, went on the Merv Griffin show, hitchhiked home to Massachusetts, and drove up to Canada with his girl to look into the draft resister scene, which he did for about ten minutes. When the spirit moved him he also interviewed Archibald Cox or Mark Rudd, or the program director of WABC to find out why he wants to use his "50,000 watt pump to pour such crap into the already polluted air." Finally, he added a few deflating remarks on the big, obligatory issues – sex, drugs, and violence – and pocketed "the coin" he tells us he has been desultorily pursuing. "The best, truest way to read this book would be to rip it up and throw the scraps all over the house. Then, later, when you come across a piece read it, or don't read it, depending on how you feel. . . . Above all don't spend much time reading it because I didn't spend too much time writing it."

All of which may seem like a pose – hip bravura – but it's not; though it is a style, an audacity that wants to be firm and clear. Kunen writes in a natural, articulate way that conveys confidence in his own voice and attitudes, and little else. Like most children of the educated middle class, he has grown up expecting to be listened to, and though he is ironic about his narcisissim – "this egoblast" of a book – he is not inhibited by it. This keeps his writing directly personal rather than pretentious – the vice of more intimidated generations – and makes him worth listening to. His language is terse, his thoughts fragmentary and tentative, both keyed to the immediacy of the here and now. Like Hemingway's, the main function of his sensibility is to keep out the crap; a practice he probably owes to TV rather than reading:

> "Just heard that Walt Disney died . . . 'and the world mourns.' It doesn't really, but it at least notices, which is certainly some tribute. That would have been a comfort to Walt, as he lay dying. Of course, if he just dropped dead, then it wouldn't have been a comfort to him."

This matter-of-factness makes Kunen's tone seem representative and reliable. So does his account of himself. Before the April uprising at Columbia, his main experience with the left, as he says, was rowing port on the varsity crew. At the same time, the entries in his journal disclose that he was suffering from the malaise that is said to be common among the better students in the more high-powered schools. He has the lively mind, the gift of integrating all manner of information of the born student, but by the end of his sophomore year still seems to be without a clue as to its proper direction. Though constantly rummaging through his thoughts to fill out his book, he almost never mentions a teacher or course he has had at Columbia, or instances any sense of connection with its fabled intellectual life. The most he can say is that "there is no mainstream of Columbia life. Columbia is a lot of meandering rivulets up which the students struggle, vainly attempting to spawn." The pressure to find a vocation, to "make something of yourself" – as we used to say, as I still say, haplessly, to my own semi-adolescents – doesn't appear to operate at all on Kunen and his friends, nor does the competition for grades, scholarships, admission to professional schools that went along with it.

Like poverty, affluence has its moments of truth, however fatuous they may make us feel. Unless he has a strong economic motive, a felt sense of necessity, a college education doesn't make that much sense to a bright 19-year-old. Why should it? He has already been sitting in classrooms for 14 years. Moreover, his energies and interests are focused on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cornell University Press

"Had the voices to which the authors refer been heard . . . Viet Nam might have been different."
—SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
from the Foreword

Viet Nam—
The Unheard Voices

By DON LUCE and JOHN SOMMER
With a Foreword
by SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

This is no ordinary book about Viet Nam. It was written by two Americans who speak Vietnamese fluently, and who lived and worked in Viet Nam's cities, hamlets, slums, and refugee camps for many years. Mr. Luce was director of IVS (International Voluntary Services) for six years, until September 1967, when he and several key staff members resigned their posts to protest American policies. This book reveals, in moderate tones, but with compelling force, the reasons for their protest.

"The most important firsthand memoir to come out of the American experience in Viet Nam; it is also the most fascinating. . . . Their book is a story of people, of the tragic sympathy the Vietnamese have for Americans despite the suffering our acts have caused, and of the incapacity of Americans to understand the human dimension of the conflict."
—JOHN T. MCALISTER, JR.,
author of *Viet Nam: The Origins of Revolution*

350 pages · $6.50

Cornell University Press
ITHACA, NEW YORK 14850

the life-problem of entering manhood, for which he needs the actual world, not an artificial one carved up into fields of study and presided over by distracted specialists. Further, as *The Strawberry Statement* tells us, the privileges of Columbia students are sad and guilty, protecting them from an absurd and evil war which the rest of their generation must fight, sealing them off from an America of racism and poverty which begins two blocks away, and associating them with an institution that profits from war, racism, and poverty. The first impact that SDS had on Kunen appears to have been when Mark Rudd walked out of Columbia's memorial service to Dr. King, which, Kunen agrees, was "obscenely hypocritical" in view of the school's employment, real estate, and research practices.

During his first two years of college, Kunen's main intellectual activity appears to have been an elaborate dormitory fantasy of an "alternate world-structure," in which the issues of existence are sharply defined and "the legions of evil bother to attack us." By the beginning of his sophomore year, he is indulging in small, private acts of violence, while waiting for a mythical letter that will tell him where he's at. Though living in New York adds to his sense of contactlessness, his correspondents at other schools are in the same uneasy boat, adrift on the dull estuary of campus life, exchanging letters which are full of collegiate chatter but whose secret message is, "still holding out."

All of which may be hard to take seriously, particularly if your go-getting days began before or during college. But Kunen's malaise is as real as the rest of him, and it helps explain why, when the buildings began to be occupied, he was one of those who entered and stayed. He more or less drifted into the initial protests, mainly in order to make some friends, but once inside Low Library and occupying Kirk's office, he is suddenly full of energy, purpose, resourcefulness. He stands watch, runs messages, hustles in food, participates in the discussions that decided virtually every step that was taken. Along with another student he takes apart a Xerox and fixes it so they can copy documents. As he says, "I'll do anything to feel like I'm doing something." Through most of the occupation he attends crew practice and even rows

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the final race of the season; then hurries back to his revolutionary post. He has his lows as well as highs – wondering at one point if the Paris Commune was so boring at times, or whether Lenin was so concerned about the breast size of his cohorts. He keeps insisting to himself that he is not one of the "sheep." Under some New Left graffiti he chalks, "I'm sorry about defacing the wall, but babies are being burned and men are dying, and this university is at fault quite directly."

The "jocks," the police, and the Columbia administration all play a part in strengthening Kunen's association with the rebels, but the main ground of his radicalism, once activated, is the war. As the rest of *The Strawberry Statement* indicates, Vietnam is never more than a thought away in his mind. When he hears that Bobby Kennedy has been shot, his immediate reaction is that "this is no novelty, you know, because people get shot every day, and bombed and burned and blown up. But no one cares about that." If he sees people coming out of church in a Boston suburb, he wonders which of them will be going to the office the next day "to work on maximizing kill-densities." His preoccupation with "Them" or "the Biggies" is typically fleshed out by the military brass gazing down at the demonstrators from the roof of the Pentagon, or by the vacant yet obdurate words of President Johnson:

> "Doesn't he know anything? Do statistics hide the truth and keep him from feeling? When I see statistics I practically throw up, I can never forget. It's in me that my friends every day hear gunfire and see others fall and hate the enemy. But when they see the ground spin up at them and feel the wetness of their own blood, whom do you think they hate then?"

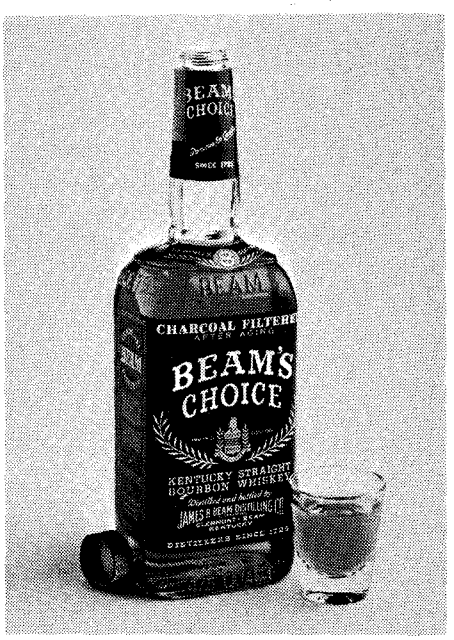
As his journal moves along, Kunen loses much of his initial despair. He attributes this to his growing anger, which the Columbia uprising and repression helped to set free and to focus. He seizes on a remark that the university has instituted its own pacification program, for the behavior of the Kirk administration indicates to him the hollow and blindly coercive authority that makes a mockery of our claims in Vietnam. He becomes attentive to the little ways that the multiversity, the warfare state, and the consumer economy fit together. He delivers enraged speechs on militarism and racism to his journal. He considers the possibility of becoming a "pro revolutionary," though he seems unable to find anyone in the New Left that he agrees with. He no longer gets his hair cut before going home: long hair is the "peace Thing," and he wants to be identifiable.

He finds it works the other way as well. He goes to Fenway Park, where the year before the Red Sox had climbed from last place to first, winning the pennant the final game of the season. And, poignantly enough, that baseball team still stands in his mind as the only real embodiment of his values; "happiness, enthusiasm, courage. . . . Because of them I could talk to anybody at all and share something and be together and understand. . . . They were something people would open to you for." But now his long hair and his Columbia T-shirt make him feel out of place and resented. He ponders the change in himself – or, rather, the complication. Watching baseball and rooting for your team is a good thing: "people doing something they like and enjoying themselves and not hurting anybody . . . is being free and happy just a little and it's very opposite to fighting wars." On the other hand, caring too much about such problems as Yastrzemski's slump makes you forget about other things: "the starvation and death which must be stopped before Yaz's next home run can truly be cause for joy."

As of last summer, when the journal ends, Kunen had put his final shred of allegiance to the System on Senator McCarthy. Where he's "at" now, I don't know: though probably still with the people who flash V's rather than flags. The latter practice disturbs him – "It's a real down to get bad vibrations from your flag" – for he has strong feelings of patriotism, though for another America than the one that surrounds him:

> "There used to be a dream in America . . . America was going to

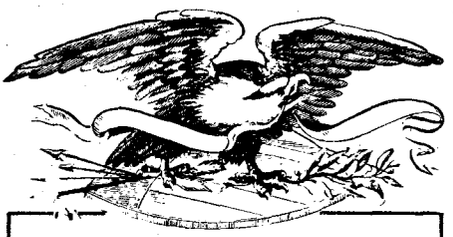
ONE TOO MANY IS TOO MANY.



Beam's Choice is a very good Bourbon. (We should know—we've been making Bourbon since 1795.)
We age it for eight years. And charcoal filter it after aging.
The result is about as close to perfect as anybody's going to get.
So sip it. And savor it.
But whatever you do don't guzzle it down.

EIGHT YEARS OLD. 86 PROOF. KENTUCKY STRAIGHT BOURBON WHISKEY DISTILLED AND BOTTLED BY THE JAMES B. BEAM DISTILLING CO., CLERMONT, BEAM, KENTUCKY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A Landmark in American History

THE CREATION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, 1776–1787

GORDON S. WOOD

From the Declaration of Independence to the Federal Constitution, Americans thought as well as fought their way from revolution to an organized system of government. It was something peculiarly their own, different from all the models of the Old World.

This monumental and penetrating volume is the full and engrossing account of that crucial and momentous change in American history and American political life. $15.00

Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

be different . . . free and good. Of course, they blew it right away. As soon as the Puritans came over they set up religious laws. But at least they clung to the dream. Until now. Now no one hopes for America to be different. I guess it was the dream that ruined the dream. People thought the U.S.A. (a great-sounding, nice, informal name) was special so we could do anything and it's okay. . . . I wish people would wake up and dream again."

Along with a country he can respect, he wants a community in which the brief brotherhood he felt with other Red Sox fans is a permanent possibility. It would be hard to find a better example of the natural outcropping of anarchist sentiment among the young than *The Strawberry Statement*. It permeates Kunen's growing hostility to all forms of reification and manipulation, to everything "mass" that denatures and dehumanizes the social bond; by the same token, it permeates his bias in favor of the self-regulating cooperative, the comradely instincts that he found springing up in himself and his fellows in the brief commune of Low Library. I doubt if Kunen has read a page of Kropotkin or, for that matter, Paul Goodman; but if he gets over the idea that "the book writers are not where it's at," he should read them because they are where he's at. On the whole, his independence of spirit does him honor, but I hope that he, like many of the best of his generation, won't allow it to impoverish his understanding.

Gertrude Himmelfarb: The Will to Believe

The Cult of Sincerity by Herbert Read

(Horizon Press; $6.00)

I cannot think of a single American counterpart of Sir Herbert Read – a single American who combines, as Read did (he died less than a year ago), the activities of poet, philosopher, political theorist, literary and art critic, and who did so, moreover, through so wide a variety of mediums: in the littlest of the "little magazines" and the largest Sunday newspapers and weeklies, as a BBC panelist and university professor, in essays, tracts, talks, and major scholarly works – and all as if this were the normal state of affairs for a man of letters. And so it was, and is, for the English man of letters.

One of the interesting things about Read, one measure of his Englishness, is the fact that he did not come from the social class with which we generally associate this vocation. The American tends to think that the ease and natural authority of the English man of letters reflect the security of his social position – the upper or upper-middle class nexus of family, school, public service, etc. that supposedly constitute the "establishment." But in fact, in the 19th as in the 20th century, the man of letters often came from modest circumstances, and it was his occupation that was the means of his social elevation and his entrée to the establishment.

Read, born in 1893, was a Yorkshire country boy raised in a boarding school for orphans (his father died when he was 10). He was at a provincial university when the first World War broke out and he was called up for military service, so that he never received his degree. After the war he served in the Treasury for a few years and then as Assistant Keeper at the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

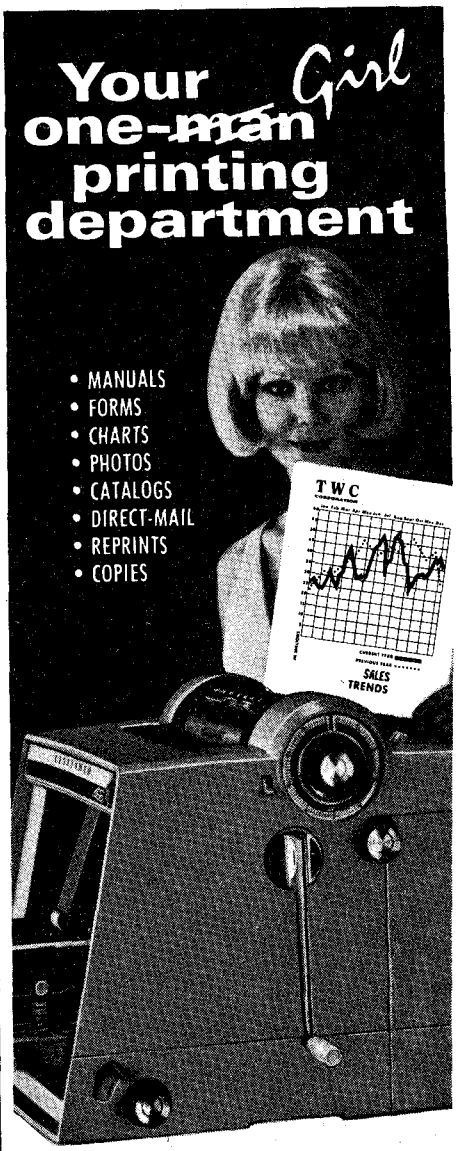
Victoria and Albert Museum. In the early thirties he became Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University, and thereafter held a variety of academic, editorial, and civic positions. During all this time he wrote and lectured prolifically and was active in the usual radical causes. When he was knighted in 1953, there were mutterings about the oddity of bestowing that honor upon one who still described himself as an anarchist, and pacifist, and about the oddity of one of that description (or descriptions) accepting the honor. But to others the affair was not in the least odd; on the contrary, it seemed peculiarly and typically English.

Read's life was marked by similar incongruities – or what an American might take to be incongruities, but what Read himself and his friends obviously regarded as perfectly natural and normal. He went into the war, for example, in spite of the fact that he had already been converted to a form of anarchism - syndicalism - Guild socialism. And it was during the war, while on active service, that he somehow found time to write poetry for the little magazines, to serve as co-founder of one of them, *Art and Letters* (the first issue of which came out in July 1917, at the lowest point in the war), and to meet, while on leave from the front, T. S. Eliot, whose *Prufrock* had just appeared. As a civil servant after the war, he could not be openly associated with any publication, but unofficially he acted as co-editor of *Art and Letters*, becoming part of a circle that included Eliot, the Sitwells, Richard Aldington, Wyndham Lewis, Aldous Huxley, and Katherine Mansfield. And when Eliot founded *The Criterion* in 1923 (*Art and Letters* having died in 1920), Read became one of Eliot's closest associates and a personal friend. He quotes a letter (an "apologia," Read calls it) by Eliot explaining his conception of *The Criterion* – or rather his conception of himself as "leader" or "organizer" of the "phalanx" represented by the magazine:

> "I do *not* expect everyone to subscribe to all the articles of my own faith, or to read Arnold, Newman, Bradley, or Maunras with my eyes. It seems to me that at the present time we need more dogma, and that one ought to have as precise and clear a creed as possible, when one thinks at all: but a creed is always in one sense smaller than the man, and in another sense larger; one's formulations never fully explain one, although it is necessary to formulate. . . . When I *write*, I must write to the limit of my own convictions and aspirations: but I don't want to impose these on others, any more than I should be willing to reduce myself to the common denominator of my colleagues. What is essential is to find those persons who have an impersonal loyalty to some faith not antagonistic to my own."

His own faith, Read comments, as if to justify his association with Eliot, was "certainly not antagonistic" to Eliot's. That faith, he says, was expressed in the volume of essays he put together on Eliot's request for the first list of the reorganized Faber & Gwyer (later Faber & Faber), which Eliot had recently joined. But that book, in its very title, was a challenge, perhaps even an affront, to Eliot. For what else could Read have intended by *Reason and Romanticism* than to define his own faith in terms pointedly antagonistic to Eliot's? Read himself does not say this. What he does say is that his idea of Reason owed something to T. E. Hulme and more to Eliot, but that his Romanticism was entirely his own, and that his purpose was to find a "reconciliation" or "synthesis" of these opposing faiths. "If Eliot," he continues, "had any desire to check me at that time, it was all done with a very gentle reign, and our intimacy became closer week by week." And that intimacy, he says, continued until 1931 (after which they remained friendly but saw each other less regularly). Yet it was in 1928 that Eliot, in the preface to *For Lancelot Andrews*, made his famous pronouncement about being a classicist in literature, a royalist in politics, and an Anglo-Catholic in religion – to which, Read writes, "I could only retort that I was a romanticist in literature, an anarchist in politics and an agnostic in religion." In view of so sharp a dichotomy of beliefs, and of Eliot's notion of what was to be expected of the "phalanx," it comes as something of an anti-climax to be told that Eliot could "respect" such differences, and that the only thing he could not tolerate was a misinterpretation of his own views.

What is interesting about this long, close, and ambiguous association with



This remarkable breakthrough in facsimile printing places at your disposal both the versatility of the printing press and the convenience of the copier. If you require only as few as 10 copies, or more than 10,000 reproductions in colored inks and on colored papers, the *Gestetner* process will provide them — right in your own office — with your office girl as operator.

Push-button scanning (*Gestefax*) will image your stencil-masters directly from any subject, typed, printed, drawn, clipped, photographed, or in combination as a 'paste-up layout.'

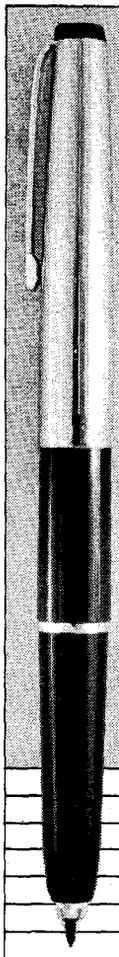
Consider the savings in both time and money by office-producing the kind of work you once sent to costly outside services.

GESTETNER

GESTETNER CORPORATION **Dept. N-4**
216 Lake Ave., Yonkers, N.Y. 10703
Send complete details and literature.

Name .....
Organization .....
Address .....
City .....
State ..... **Zip** .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Sarastro Boldstroke Fibre Point Pen

A superb and beautifully appointed new Fibre Point Pen. **Replenishable ink fill.** Almost unbelievably smooth and effortless performance. Specially refined Nylon point glides with such remarkable ease, writing becomes a rediscovered art . . . and fun! Meticulously crafted and balanced stem designed for the man's hand. Of precise manufacture in the finest European tradition of building things to last. If quality is your fetish, **Sarastro** will do you proud. A functional and absolutely reliable pen. Manufacturer's 3-year Warranty. Visit our shop or order by mail. **Your Money Back if not pleased.**

SC Chrome $6.50 2 for $12.00
SS Silver $7.50 2 for $14.00
SG Rolled Gold $9.50 2 for $18.00

Add 50¢ post per order. 5% in Calif. Ship on Money Back Guarantee

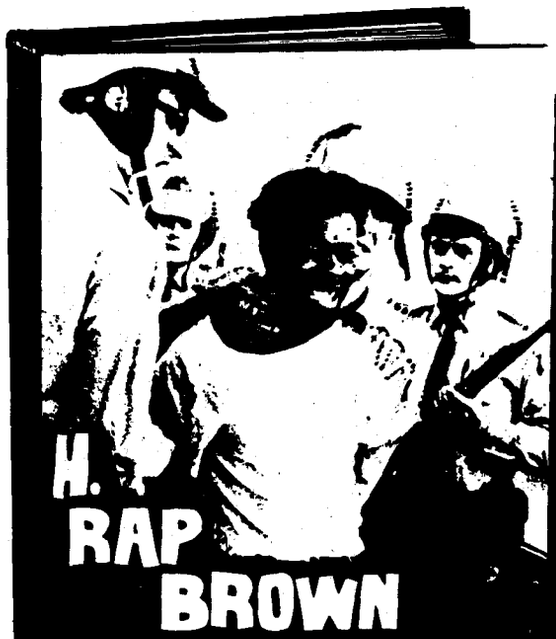
Model Quantity
Name
Address
Zip
Check Encl. | Amer. Express | Diners
BofA | Master Chg. | acc'nt no

J.D.BROWNE
Ghirardelli Sq. 900 North Pt. San Francisco, Ca. 94109

Our neurotic "anti-Communism complex" gets a penetrating analysis in this "hard-hitting report [which] traces the history and growth of anti-Russian and anti-Chinese policies...and suggests more intelligent alternative actions for the future."*

Anatomy of Anti-Communism

A Report Prepared for the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee
$4.50; paper, $1.50
HILL & WANG
72 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011
*Publishers' Weekly



An explosive political autobiography by the Black Revolution's leading spokesman

DIE NIGGER DIE!

$3.95, now at your bookstore

THE DIAL PRESS 2nd printing before publication

Eliot is that the ambiguity was there from the very beginning. And not only because of their political differences (Read's pacifism, was as objectionable to Eliot as his anarchism), but also because of their philosophical and esthetic differences. Read speculates that Eliot was first attracted to him because of a misunderstanding, an "illusion." Read was editing Hulme's posthumous papers, and Eliot, who admired Hulme and felt for him a great affinity, assumed that that affinity must have been shared by the young man who undertook the arduous editing job and rescued Hulme from what might otherwise have been total oblivion. In fact, Read explains, he had very little sympathy for Hulme and had only done the work as a favor to A. R. Orage, to whom he felt personally indebted. What Read does not say here is that Hulme was bitterly opposed to pacifism, romanticism, secularism, materialism, and liberalism (to say nothing of all forms of radicalism). One can well understand Eliot's "illusion." How could Read have edited – and more than edited, resurrected – a man with whom he was so little in sympathy, indeed whom he must have found positively hateful? And how could he have failed to make this clear to Eliot, to disabuse him of his illusion?

But all of this takes us to the heart of the question that has been dwelt upon so much recently: the curious relationship between literary modernity and political conservatism, and the dilemma of those who accepted the former but not the latter. At the time, the dilemma for Read and so many like him was an existential one: it was the problem of living, working, talking, dreaming with people who were in one respect so congenial, in another so antithetical. It must have been extremely difficult and often painful. Yet perhaps not as difficult and painful as the dilemma one senses in the last years of Read's life – the suspicion that there may have been some truth in that part of the creed he had once rejected so firmly.

The opening essay of this book, the title essay, tries to define the ideal of "sincerity" which he had pursued all his life, and which now seemed expressible only in terms that could have no personal meaning for him, that could not be personally experienced. "Behind every 'sincere' belief I detect a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

special kind of experience which has not come to me." And that experience was the religious one.

The "most persistent influences" in the latter part of his life, he says, were Buber and Jung. But they could not give him what they had: the experience of "the spirit of God." He quotes Simone Weil's account of one occasion when she was reciting George Herbert's poem, "Love," and in the course of the recitation, "Christ himself came down and took possession of me." He read Herbert's poem many times, he comments, without its having that effect on him. There is bitterness in his complaint that "the grace of God" should be arbitrarily bestowed on man, and he vindicates himself against the charge that it was his "intellectual pride" that stood in his way:

> "I am completely humble in my attitude to the mystery of life, and accept gratefully such intuitions as come to me from the writings of the mystics, and from works of art. Simone says that one of the principal truths of Christianity, "a truth which goes almost unrecognized today, is that the looking is what saves us." I look everywhere, but I do not find. Especially have I looked in the realms of poetry and art. Simone says that "the soul's natural inclination to love beauty is the trap God most frequently uses in order to win it and open to it the breath from on high." This may be true, but I have not been caught. I do not believe that the breath comes from "on high," but rather from below."

It is all entirely credible and most moving – except for the last sentence. He could not have believed that the breath of God comes from below, else he would have felt it, for that is where he himself was, where he was always condemned to be.

He had started out with the hope that he would become a great poet. He failed, he says, because he was "not in tune with the age." He was "a modernist in technique," but he lacked that other requirement of the age: "a tragic view of life." His one attempt to write a major tragic poem concluded, in spite of himself, on a note of affirmation and hope. He knows that some will say that his feelings were not profound

THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTALL

specially selected books at very special prices

You can buy any or all of the books in this select group at substantial savings. Minimum order $5.00. Add 25c per order for postage and handling.

328. MAXIMUM FEASIBLE MISUNDERSTANDING: Community Action in the War on Poverty by Daniel P. Moynihan. The new Nixon appointee states clearly the role of social science in the formulation of social policy.
Reg. price $5.95 Your price $4.75

324. THE AGE OF DISCONTINUITY by Peter Drucker. How different is the society we now live in from the oncoming society which we clearly perceive but scarcely accept. The author focuses with clarity and perception on the forces of discontinuity that are creating our future.
Reg. price $7.95 Your price $6.35

325. THE 900 DAYS: The Siege of Leningrad by Harrison Salisbury. The longest siege a great city has undergone since biblical times. Of the 3,000,000 people who endured it, half died, in six months. Mr. Salisbury tells this narrative for the first time, and his range and power are commensurate with the subject.
Reg. price $10.00 Your price $7.95

321. THE PARABLES OF PEANUTS by Robert L. Short. With inimitable style and relevance, Charlie Brown, Snoopy, Lucy, Linus and Schroeder dramatize new Christian parables to fit our times. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 Your price $1.55

10. THE NEW YORK TIMES COOKBOOK, edited by Craig Claiborne. An excellent standard cookbook consisting of 1,500 recipes tested in The New York Times kitchen. It emphasizes international dishes but includes enough typical American ones. A superior production. Illustrated.
Reg. price $9.95 your price $7.95

148. NEW YORK TIMES GUIDE TO PERSONAL FINANCE by Sal Nuccio. A fine family reference book which accurately presents the major issues of personal finance confronted by nearly everyone. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 your price $1.55

15. THE PREVALENCE OF NONSENSE by Ashley Montague and Edward Darling. This is scholarship rolling a hoop, revealing the cheerful or sometimes ghastly truths by which we live. Here are the errors which mankind accepts as gospel. A droll book by an outstanding anthropologist and a witty satirist.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

154. BETWEEN PARENT AND CHILD by Dr. Haim G. Ginott. This book accomplishes an ambitious purpose: to make life between parent and child less irritating and more rewarding.
Reg. price $4.95 your price $3.95

316. THE JOYS OF YIDDISH by Leo Rosten. "A miracle of a book. The best book about the American language since Mencken. Never did we more need the joys of Rosten."—Daniel Boorstin.
Reg. price $10.00 Your price $7.95

149. THE WAR PRAYER by Mark Twain. Written in 1904, Mark Twain left instructions that this be published only after his death. "I have told the whole truth in that," he said, "and only dead men can tell the whole truth in this world." Published separately for the first time.
Reg. price $5.95 your price $4.75

320. PORTNOY'S COMPLAINT by Philip Roth. The first novel to smash records before publication. Just out, and it will continue to break more records. A reading 'must' in our age.
Reg. price $6.95 Your price $5.55

49. HOW TO WRAP FIVE EGGS. Japanese Design in Traditional Packaging by Hideyuko Oka. This book is a totally unexpected monument to a culture, a way of life, a universal sensibility carried through all objects down to the smallest, most inconsequential and ephemeral things. A book of exceptional beauty with 222 black and white and color plates.
Reg. price $15 your price $12

53. THE CONSUMERS UNION REPORT ON LIFE INSURANCE. A Guide to Planning and Buying the Protection You Need by the editors of **Consumer Reports.** The chances are that you are spending a substantial amount of money on life insurance and receiving inadequate protection for your family. Much of the nation's 17 billion dollar outlay for insurance is spent unwisely. This book provides a rational approach to the buying of life insurance. Paperback.
Reg. price $1.95 your price $1.55

92. THE SENSE OF WONDER by Rachel Carson with photographs by Charles Pratt and others. "An eloquent plea for parents to rekindle their own feeling for nature and help children use all their senses as avenues of delight and discovery," says the N. Y. Times. Now in paperback.
Reg. price $2.50 your price $1.99

153. THE FIRST CIRCLE by Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. A panoramic novel of consummate literary power by a writer who is regarded by most Russians as their greatest literary talent today. Its basic theme is the response of individuals to a dehumanizing totalitarian system, the way in which some discover truth, reality —and themselves—within that system, while others are victimized.
Reg. price $10 your price $7.95

309. SCHOOLS WITHOUT FAILURE by William Glasser, M.D. The author of the famous **Reality Therapy** believes that education today is failure-oriented to a large degree. He proposes a new program based on increased involvement and thinking rather than on memory drill. His approaches in the classroom covering punishment, responsibility, homework and grading are applicable from kindergarten to graduate school.
Reg. price $4.95 Your price $3.95

THE BOOKSTALL
P. O. Box 7796
Benjamin Franklin Station TNR051069
Washington, D. C. 20044

Please send the books whose numbers I have circled below.

10 15 49 53 92 148 149 151 153
154 160 309 314 316 317 319 320 321

I enclose $..... plus 25c postage and handling.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

...and they float!
The completely sealed fiberglass body of our streamlined, 8 x 30 Steiner Prism Binoculars is impervious to water, steam, vapors and utterly stable under extreme temperatures. And, what's more — they float! 10 lens, 4-prism, fully coated optics provide crisp, closely corrected image and great depth of field at all distances (357' at 1000 yds.). Individual focus, built-in rubber cups (for eyeglass wearers), pull-off, zippered strap-case make them ideal for hunters, yachtsmen, travelers . . . and anyone prone to drop things overboard!
☐ Send me the Steiner 8 x 30 Floating Binoculars. I enc. $40.95 ($39.95 $1 for post. & ins.). Return in two wks. if not delighted. (Calif. add 5%)
Mail to: 584 Washington Street, San Francisco, California 94111
NAME
ADDRESS
ZIP
haverhills

Mental Poisoning!

Thoughts that Enslave Minds

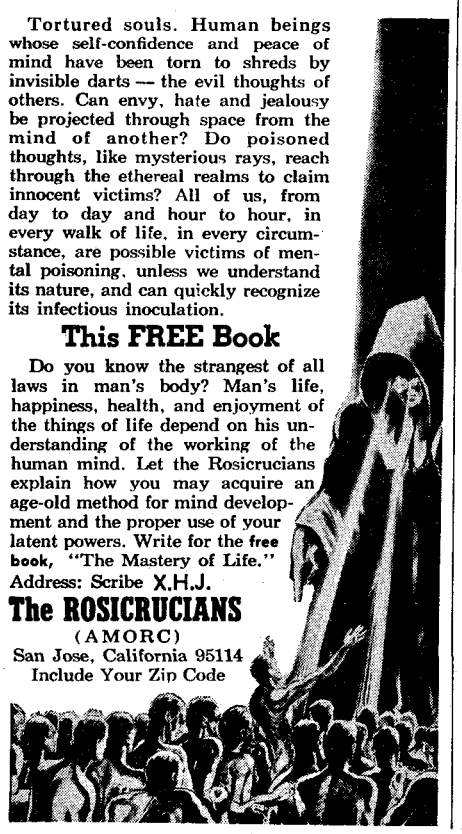
Tortured souls. Human beings whose self-confidence and peace of mind have been torn to shreds by invisible darts — the evil thoughts of others. Can envy, hate and jealousy be projected through space from the mind of another? Do poisoned thoughts, like mysterious rays, reach through the ethereal realms to claim innocent victims? All of us, from day to day and hour to hour, in every walk of life, in every circumstance, are possible victims of mental poisoning, unless we understand its nature, and can quickly recognize its infectious inoculation.

This FREE Book

Do you know the strangest of all laws in man's body? Man's life, happiness, health, and enjoyment of the things of life depend on his understanding of the working of the human mind. Let the Rosicrucians explain how you may acquire an age-old method for mind development and the proper use of your latent powers. Write for the **free book,** "The Mastery of Life."

Address: Scribe X.H.J.

The ROSICRUCIANS
(AMORC)
San Jose, California 95114
Include Your Zip Code



The wine of love is music And the feast of love is song...

Banquet on both with us 24 hours a day!

WGAY
STEREO 50,000 WATTS 24 HOURS 99.5 FM
A CONNIE B. GAY STATION
Serving Metropolitan Washington, D.C.

enough; he prefers to believe that they were not fashionable enough.

But it is not fashion, not the spirit of the age, that obsesses Read throughout this book. It is the spirit of God. In almost every essay he comes back to the matter of religion, sometimes defiantly (it was not his fault if he could not believe, and what, in any case, can modern man be expected to believe?); sometimes resignedly (all one can do is what he did: remain in a "permanent state of ambiguity, of openness to experience"); sometimes pathetically and tragically (if others had this ultimate experience why could not he?). Sincerity, poetry, art, anarchism, pacifism – one way or another he sought salvation. But it always eluded him, because of some inadequacy either in the form or in himself. Finally he sought it where it had traditionally been sought, only to have it elude him once again. He may have lacked a tragic sense of life; but he experienced to the full the tragedy of that lack.

And this is the final token of his Englishness, the fate of the rational, humanistic, virtuous, sincere, unbelieving Englishman. Herbert Reed is in the honorable tradition of his ancestors – George Eliot, Herbert Spencer, T. H. Huxley, Leslie Stephen, John Stuart Mill – who could neither believe nor live comfortably with their unbelief.

Correspondence

Extra Innings?

Sirs:

Colman McCarthy's article (April 19), entitled "Baseball Strikes Out" has sound criticism of the "buck-lust" of the baseball team owners. Some changes may be required to speed up and enliven the game. But the criticism of "poor batsmen" is largely unjustified. In late years, rule changes have favored the pitcher as against the man at bat. This was a mistake. Further, baseball has greatly developed its fielding and its team work, so that it's extremely hard for good batsmen to get a base hit. Incidentally, this fielding is quite as much the center of interest in base-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ball as is the base hit. But the prophecy that baseball will "strike out," or in any way cease to be the great national game is bad prophecy. . . .

Benjamin H. Kizer
Spokane, Wash.

Sirs:

Although I am a loyal reader of *The New Republic*, I was quite disturbed by Colman McCarthy's article. He argues that "the fans are simply tiring of bleacher boredom" and consequently attendance is declining significantly. To prove his point, he takes the last place Washington Senators who had, admittingly, a dismal attendance record of 542,052 in 1968. But why didn't McCarthy mention Boston, Detroit, or the Chicago Cubs? The reason is simple. Boston, Detroit, and the Cubs set dramatic attendance records in the past two years. In 1966 Boston drew only 811,172, in 1967 the team drew 1,692,349, while last year attendance figures continued to shatter records – 1,940,588 Boston fans watched their club. Detroit and Chicago present a similar picture. Both the Tigers and the Cubs have nearly doubled their attendance since 1966. Of the remaining teams in both the National and American Leagues, only San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Baltimore show worrisome attendance drops since 1966. And Baltimore's attendance is down from 1966 simply because they won the pennant in 1966, while in 1968 they finished 12 games back. Otherwise, the rest of the clubs have had relatively stable attendance records.

McCarthy also found it fitting to assert that "National League attendance has dropped over 3 million in two years," tactfully avoiding conflicting data. For example, in the American League attendance figures have increased steadily since 1966. And actually, National League attendance has remained rather stable since 1960, the figures being 10,684,963 in 1960 and 11,785,368 in 1968. He distorts the attendance records of the National League by contrasting the 1966 and 1968 baseball seasons. Even the most inattentive baseball fan knows that in 1967 and 1968 St. Louis prematurely ran away with the flag, while the pennant races were considerably closer in previous years. Tight races obviously create more interest than runaway ones. Thus, when tight races in the National League return, so will the fans. The four way race for the American League pennant in 1967 certainly supports this conclusion.

It is also illogical to compare baseball statistics with National Football League attendance figures. In the first place, baseball teams play almost 12 times as many games during a season as football teams. It follows, then, if a team only plays 6 or 7 games at home during a whole season, more enthusiasm and larger crowds should be expected. This is to mention nothing of the fact that nearly all pro football games are played on Sunday – prime leisure time. . . .

He concludes that baseball has simply struck out ". . . as a game of fun, excitement, and identification . . ." Whether it has or has not is difficult to prove, especially since many loyal fans, partly due to instant replays, stop action coverage, split screen camera shots, and the like, have decided to sit back with a bottle of

Coming:

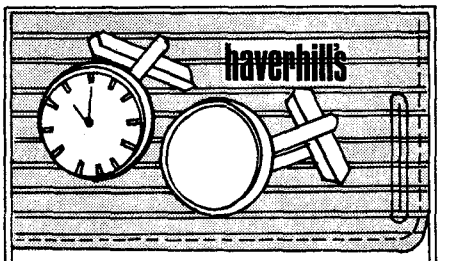
Jerome Mazzaro
on
Robert Lowell and the Circle

ATTACH LABEL HERE

CHANGING ADDRESS?
Send back old and new addresses to
Subscription Department
The New Republic
381 West Center St., Marion, Ohio
Allow four weeks for change to become effective

New Address

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....Zip .....



TNR 0510
ON THE CUFF
these Watch Links, the "dernier cri" of men's accessories, are replacing wrist watches for evening wear.
One has a 17-jewel watch, the other is mother-of-pearl. On heavy gold or rhodium plate (please specify).
$30.95 post/paid from:
584 Washington St., San Francisco, 94111

Ariel Films
16mm FILM PROGRAMMING SERVICE
Most foreign & American films available, with film notes & publicity material. Write for our free brochure today, tell us your needs, we're here to help with films or lecturers for any purpose.
Bragin Communications/ NRP
645 West End Ave/New York 10025

"THE STATE DEPARTMENT *has barred two Cuban envoys because they gave 'financial and directional' aid to the Black Panthers. Five more may have their entry visas revoked. The action, coming as it does shortly after the indictment of 21 Panthers on charges of plotting to blow up New York department stores, may signal a coordinated crackdown. We got Warbucks, now let's grab the kid and the dog.*"
For a free copy of Wm. F. Buckley's NATIONAL REVIEW, write: Dept. H, 150 E. 35 Street, N. Y. 10016.

I REQUIRE . . .
a "dating service" that
☐ has outgrown pop prattle about the "swinging scene" (ages 21 to 65)
☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other)
☐ has penetrated bigtown anonymity to dare deal only with its more cultivated, intelligent, literary community (48% through personal referrals)
☐ offers exclusive, expensive, exhaustive, individual processing by trained consultants
☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE
MIND MATES
Bureau for Interpersonal Relations
1 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. 10017
MU 2-3757

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beer and watch their teams on the "tube." In the absence of television, more fans would indubitably frequent the ball parks. My feelings are that the game is still full of thrilling enjoyment and many diehard fans, especially in the cities where the teams are winning.

Kenneth F. Warren
Department of Government
University of Massachusetts

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

Lincoln in *The Birth of a Nation*. But Miss Gish's chronicle of her nine-year association with the director and her subsequent friendship with him is unique and invaluable. Full studies of Griffith will show, I think, that his unquestionable genius was seriously maimed by the tropes of the theatre that conditioned him; that, although he was certainly treated abominally by the film world of which he had been prime architect, at least some of his bitterness at the "decline" of film was a resentment of the twentieth century, which was gradually outmoding his rhetoric of virtue and villainy and his rather primitive meliorism. But any objective study will only show his true greatness more greatly; and Miss Gish, whose intent was not and could not have been objectivity, has blessed those future authors. As she has indebted present readers.

"The American film industry by now was passing out of the era of small enterprises and quick individual profits into that of high finance and corporate endeavor," says Miss Barry, writing of 1915. John Gregory Dunne has taken a look at some results of that passage 52 years later. *The Studio* resembles earlier "documentaries" that have peered close at the pores of film people, but with two big differences. Most previous books and articles of this kind, like Lillian Ross's *Picture*, have followed the fate of one film; Dunne has sliced the matter laterally by following the activities of a studio (Twentieth Century-Fox) for a year, thus cutting across the fates of a number of pictures. And Dunne's account includes the studio's latter-day involvement with television.

His motives, as he describes them, are a bit factitious; he sounds as if he thought he had invented the idea of exploring Hollywood and its relation to our culture. But he observes shrewdly, listens sharply, and writes without fuss. We see various films at various stages: from proposal of ideas to world premieres. The sums of money that get mentioned at every stage are, to mortals, like astronaut distances compared with earth distances. (Not new in films. Griffith spent nearly $100,000 on an outdoor stage for an Al Jolson picture; Jolson took one look at his screen tests and fled.) The nerves, the sycophancy, the sense of technical proficiency and creative poverty, Dunne skewers them all.

The chief trouble with the book is that, although it is new, we feel we've read most of it before. Only some nouns and figures have been changed. The dialogue about revamping a sci-fi TV serial might have applied to Saturday-afternoon serial 30 years ago. The staff producer may be disappearing, as executives hire a producer along with his package; but the gavottes and fandangos within the production unit have not altered much.

One can always accuse a reporter like Dunne of looking for the seamy or ludicrous side, but, after all, he is writing about men who, with their magnificent offices and conferences and cables, came up in a year with such gems as *Dr. Doolittle*, *The Boston Strangler*, *The Secret Life of an American Wife*, and *Star!*

Two highlights. Christopher Plummer got $300,000 *not* to be in *Dr. Doolittle*. Rex Harrison said yes, then he said no, which was when they signed Plummer, then Harrison said yes again, which was when they had to pay off Plummer. Second, out of all the quotable dialogue, one passage by a Hollywood agent lingers:

> "You fail upward here. A guy makes a ten-million-dollar bomb, the big thing is not that he's made a bomb, but that he put together a ten-million-dollar picture. Next time out, they give him a twelve-million-dollar picture."

Seems that one old adage needs to be changed: You're as good as your last picture's budget. If only it had been true in Griffith's day.

Notes on Contributors

THEODORE SOLOTAROFF *is editor of the* New American Review. GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB *is a Professor of History at Brooklyn College.*

Personals

REPEAL THE DRAFT! You can help. Write: The MICHIGAN Council to Repeal the Draft, 1919 Norway, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

FINEST HANDMADE CUBANO CIGARS in the old Havana tradition. Low Direct From Factory Prices. Box of 50 Postpaid. ELEGANTES—7in SLIM, $14.25; CORONA MAGNAS—6in THICK, $15.00; CORONA GORDAS—6in EXTRA THICK, $18.00. Choice of Wrappers. English Market (Medium) Candela (Extra Claro), Maduro (Dark) CIGAR CRAFTMEN'S GUILD, Box 5505, Tampa, Florida 33605.

HOW MANY VIETNAMESE FOUGHT IN *OUR* CIVIL WAR? Bumpersticker. 6/$1.00. Bell & Company, Commercial Center, Beverly Hills 90210.

WANT TO SHOOT DOWN THE ABM? Send for SANE's ABM packet, 75c. Items by David Inglis, I. F. Stone, Senator George McGovern. Bumpersticker, "ABM is an Edsel," 25c/ Dept. A, SANE 381 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10016.

PSYCHEDELIC CATALOG of Posters, Lighting Effects, etc. Send 25c Hole in the Wall, 6055NR, Lankershim, North Hollywood, California 91606.

ADD MORE IMPORTANCE TO YOUR LETTERS Use superbly printed social-business stationery. Free sample assortment many sizes—styles—colors. Rich textured papers. Write today. Jacques Company, Room 5-FA, 310 East 25th Street, New York, New York 10010.

MAKE YOUR WILL. Why delay? Get 4 Will Forms and attorney's informative book. $1.00. Legal Forms Company, Dept. 25, 1967 Guardian Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

HELP Amnesty International free LARISSA DANIEL (USSR), TRUONG DINH DZU (So. Vietnam), WOLE SOYINKA (Nigeria) and Prisoners of Conscience everywhere. Send $10 for regular membership, or inquiries, to AIUSA, Dept. NR, Suite 1213, Dupont Circle Building, Washington, D. C. 20036.

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE 8 1/8" x 4" $1.50. Deluxe Edition, $2.50, grandiose, $5.00. Bumperstrip, 2/$1.00. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, New York 10580.

GENUINE BUCKSKIN JACKETS, gloves, moccasins. Send 50c for genuine buckskin money poke and big catalogue. Berman Buckskin Company, Dept. 67, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401.

SKILLED WRITER, Publisher's Editor, Analyses, Revises Manuscripts (Including French), Box 4070, New Republic.

CALIFORNIA: Don't be led into four more years of HATE. Send "The Real Ronald Reagan" to your conservative friends. $1.00. Reagan Book, Box C, Diamond Heights, San Francisco, California 94131.

DISCUSSION GROUP IN MANHATTAN has openings for single men and women over forty interested in the current scene, politics and cultural events. Write Apt. 6A, 120 East 90 Street, New York 10028.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WATCHBAND CALENDAR — 12 monthly metal wafers, starting current month; fold around watchband. $1.50. IDEA HOUSE, Rye, N. Y. 10580.

SEARCHING? . . . It's not enough to just "know thyself." COM/PAIR, the "People-Matching-People" of Princeton speed your search. It's a way to meet a truly interesting match. National, international clients. $10 fee payable when you return questionnaire. Request free questionnaire from Com/Pair Systems, NR10, 194 Nassau, Princeton, N. J. 08540.

KENNEDY '72 buttons 5/$1.00. bumperstickers 4/$1.00. DRUM, Box 609-NR, Fairfield, Connecticut.

GENUINE COUNTERFEIT CONFEDERATE BILLS —six $1,000 notes, $1.00. (WARNING: not negotiable in some parts of the South) SHADY ENTERPRISES, Shady, New York 12479.

HAVE YOU EVER TALKED TO A RUSSIAN? You can on June 7th because CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS believes that now more than ever face-to-face citizen level diplomacy is a step toward SURVIVAL. C E C's two and three week study-exchange programs in the USSR are open to Americans of all ages and occupations who qualify. Leave NYC JUNE 7, JULY 5, AUGUST 2 and 23. Write-Wire: C E C NR 5/10, 10 West 46th Street, New York City 10036 or 212-LT 1-8113.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHTING MANUAL! Make light-machines, strobes, organs, slides, etc. Send $2.00—Lightrays, 713K Pine, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

DISCOVER AN INTRIGUING, fun approach to meeting alert, literate, Jewish singles. No computers used. For FREE analytical questionnaire write giving age. OPERATION MAZEL TOV, 663 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10022.

BUMPERSTICKERS, DECALS, BUTTONS. Low-cost, custom-made advertising for your Business, Special Event, Organization or Political Campaign. Buy direct from manufacturer and SAVE! Write for FREE Brochure, Price List and Samples. Please state intended use. REFLECTIVE ADVERTISING, INC., Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132. Phone (314) 423-5495.

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF EXCELLENCE IN WRITING: Professional. Executive. Academic. Address: Director, Professional Communication Center, 745 Fifth Avenue, New York 10022.

TEA DEVOTEES *naturally select Grace Rare Teas.* Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 94, 79 Wall Street, NYC 10005.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad" covers all possibilities, all occupations, sixty countries. Include exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Only $2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed or payment refunded. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York 11730.

FUND-RAISERS: Enroll members in Public Affairs Book Club. High profit, no investment. Write PABC, 128 C Street, N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

BUTTONS, BUMPERSTRIPS, DECALS, BALLOONS, DAFFY DAISIES, IMPRINTED T-SHIRTS AND SWEATSHIRTS. *All custom-made.* FREE price list and samples. LARRY FOX, Box 581-N, Hempstead, New York 11551.

PRINT THAT! *Academic paperbook printer* Linotypes, lithographs 6x9 booklets. 500 @ $6.75/page. Prospectus 25c (r.f.o.) Unicorn Farm, Gilbertsville, N. Y. 13776.

SLEEP-LEARNING; HYPNOTISM! Strange catalog free. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

DIRTY OLD MEN NEED LOVE TOO—over 225 other underground buttons. 1/25c, 5/$1, 50/$5, 125/$10 and 1,000/$75. Bumperstickers, beads and peace jewelry, too. Free catalogue to all! Free sample to stores. A BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 MISSION, SAN FRANCISCO 94103.

HUNG UP? NovaYoga brings Peace! Makes you The Person You Want to Be! Free Literature: SELF-REALIZATION, Box 393N, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

WANTED: LOVE from a man fiftyish, capable of giving and receiving it. I think it's the only worthwhile thing. Box 4170 New Republic.

FORMERLY MARRIEDS-UNIVERSITY ALUMNI. Private Club in Manhattan, parties Friday, Saturday BE 3-5910. Box 505, Old Chelsea, NYC 10011.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 2½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot. $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

TED/72 Bumper Stickers 4/$1. P.O. Box 195, Tulsa, Oklahoma 74101.

APPALACHIA—Spend three weeks in Appalachia —Mingo County, West Virginia—Land of the Hatfields and McCoys. Daily guided tours by poor people. See and learn firsthand the problems of the poor. Attend community meetings and live with an Appalachian family for 21 days, only $378.00. Includes meals and lodging. Become involved in Appalachian culture. Ideal for the intellect who wishes to learn. Write: Larry Hamrick, *Mingo County Economic Opportunity Commission*, Inc., Box 1406, Williamson, West Virginia 25661.

Literature

PAPERBACK CATALOGUE, 270 pages, 15,000 titles, subject indexed. $2.00 credited toward order. N.Y. Book, 4 A West 43rd Street, New York City 10036.

FRIENDS JOURNAL—Explorative, unstuffy, non-establishment semimonthly of Quaker religious, social concerns (peace, draft, race, minorities, poverty, urban-rural betterment). We invite you to join us in seeking good answers. Six months, three dollars. Sample free. 152-A North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 19102.

REMEMBER MISSISSIPPI! For what's happened since the headlines went north, read *The Delta Ministry* (Macmillan), at your bookstore, or send $2 to DM, Box 457, Greenville, Mississippi 38701.

BACK DATE MAGAZINES! Send needs. Midtown, Box 917-NR, Maywood, New Jersey 07607.

CHINA IN MAPS: An atlas of 24 colored maps, historical and geographical, 11 x 8½". Postpaid $1.50. Remit with order Denoyer-Geppert Company, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640.

25% DISCOUNT ON HARD-COVER BOOKS except Medical, Law, Technical and College Texts. 25c postage per book. Yearly Membership $1.00. Colorado Book Club, P.O. Box 18156, Capitol Hill Annex, Denver, Colorado 80218.

SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION for students, teachers and armed forces personnel to The New Republic Magazine. $6.00 for one year (a Saving of $4.00) or $4.00 for eight months. Mail payment and this ad to The New Republic Subscription Department/381 West Center Street/Marion, Ohio 43302.

NITTY-GRITTY local journalism from America's largest colony: Washington, D.C. Six month trial: $1. Capitol East Gazette, 109 8th NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

MY NAME IS RICHARD. I write BOOKS — publish them myself and sell them for $1. Want one? Send your $1 to: Richard Liebow, 948 Market, San Francisco 94101.

ASPECTS—THE UNMASS PRODUCED PUBLICATION. Bimonthly. Last issue: Violence vs. Nonviolence; Report, Indian Reservation; British governor's statement: Anguilla; news; comment; reviews. $3.50/yr. Sample 25c. *ASPECTS*, P.O. Box 115, Wykagyl Station, New Rochelle, New York 10804.

THE PEASANTS' REVOLT: McCARTHY 1968. Hardback ($4.95). Send check: Noe-Bixby Publications, 219½ Parrott Street, Mount Vernon, Ohio 43050.

POT: HANDBOOK OF MARIJUANA $4.95 ppd SUB- Box 19, University Station Seattle, Washington 98105.

YOU THINK MISSISSIPPI SOULS HAVE IT BAD . . . learn about Texas 'chicanos.' Mexican-Americans, 129 Cincinnati, San Antonio, Texas 78201, $1.00.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR? Handbook $1 SUB—Box 19, University Station, Seattle, Washington 98105.

CATERPILLAR, a journal of poetry, essay and art, now in its 7th issue. 256 pages, handsomely bound, featuring Robert Duncan, Michael McClure, Ed Dorn, Allen Ginsberg, Paul Blackburn and Cid Corman; artwork by James Gill. *Test of Translation IX:* Nerval. Yearly subscriptions (4 issues): $6.00. Available single issues: $1.50. The Small Publisher's Company, 276 Park Avenue South, New York City, New York 10010.

AN *ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER* from a different country every two weeks. Send $12.00 for one year. Box 3138, Aspen, Colorado 81611.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Schools

JACKSON HOLE FIELD BIOLOGY SCHOOL. June 21st-August 2nd. Coeducational high school credit, field studies, research project, backpacking, float trips. Sponsors—National Sciences Institute, Jackson School District. For brochure, write Box 1111, Jackson, Wyoming 83001.

PINEHENGE — *Coed-Ages 6-18* — Is your child's learning being frustrated? Pinehenge is a private boarding school based on A. S. Neill's Summerhill philosophy with an enriched, stimulating, game-oriented environment. Write to Pinehenge School, Box 1, Waterford, Maine 04088, or call 207—583-4423.

SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE. On Appalachian Trail overlooking Poconos. Opening this fall. Grades 10-11, boarding 20 boys, 16 girls. Intercultural, venturesome, nondenominational but seriously Christian, related to Kirkridge retreat-and-study center founded 1942. 85 miles from Manhattan and Philadelphia. Write School at Kirkridge (SAKI), Bangor, Pennsylvania 18013. Phone 215—581-7898.

QUAKER STUDY CENTER—Suburban Philadelphia. Workshop in social change and non-violence. Seminars on life of dialogue. Quakerism, Buber, learning to love poetry, drama, writing, crafts. Write D. R. Fradley, Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa. 19086.

ROYALTON COLLEGE—School of International Affairs. Four Year Program, International Relations. Emphasizing World Literature, Economics and Politics. Interest, ability and willingness to work stressed more than past performance. Bachelor of Arts degree. For further information, Director of Admissions, Royalton College, South Royalton, Vermont 05068.

Employment Opportunities

TEACHERS WANTED. Innovative, socially aware, grades K-8, also specialties. New York suburb 45 minutes from NYC. Salary range for 1969 is $6,900 to $14,000+. Contact Mr. N. Karamessinis, Asst Supt. for Instr., Box 241, Rockaway, New Jersey 201—361-2900.

TEACHING OPPORTUNITIES—Teachers, all subjects and levels; administrators; department heads, housemothers, nurses, etc.; private schools, all states, beginners, experienced; initial details without obligation; confidential. School Service Bureau, Box 2780, Windsor, Connecticut.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU! Government assisted passage. Unlimited opportunities. Latest Government Information and Forms. $1.00. Austco, Box 3623-EE, Long Beach California 90803.

BOOMING AUSTRALIA wants You! Good jobs. Adventure. Forms and Australian Handbook (1969) describing Australian assisted passage, passport-visa, advantages, opportunities $1.00. Buckeye, Box HR, Fairborn, Ohio 45524.

Employment Wanted

AWARE, CREATIVE, INTERESTING—art, math, philosophy, physics—travel, yes—tell me what you're planning this summer. M. C. Olshausen, 324 West 101 Street, New York, New York 10025.

Vacations / Travel

SIX MONTHS IN AFRICA? Completely furnished Dakar apartment, 5 beds, pool. May 15-November 15. $280 monthly inclusive. Russell Warren Howe, BP 2233, Dakar.

SASHAY AROUND BARBADOS like you rented the place. Instead of a hotel or guest house, rent an apartment. You do whatever your vacationing heart desires, a maid does the cooking, cleaning and shopping. It's cozier, kickier, lots more private. What's more for two or more, its bound to be less expensive. For particulars, sashay a note to Barbados Vacation Apartments Company, (NR), Gateways, St. Lawrence, Barbados, West Indies.

WINDJAMMER VACATION—week aboard auxiliary schooner, "Richard Robbins.": Maine bays and islands. Brochure. Capt. George Allen, Blue Hill, Maine.

NO HECTIC "ORGANIZED" ACTIVITIES, children's haven, erudite clientele, informal family vacations, Lake Shore Resort, Northwood, New Hampshire 03261.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyages, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE—$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21, JCG, Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

"I TOOK THE ROAD less traveled by. And that has made the difference." . . . explore Anthropology in Chiapas, Guatemala, Yucatan; Art in San Miguel . . . explore living Theatre in London . . . cruise North Sea to Leningrad with YOUTH TRAVELS TO MEXICO AND EUROPE. Dr. Alex B. Lazies, 47 Stephenmarc Lane, New Hyde Park, New York 11040. (516) GE 7-7514.

Property – Sale / Rent

SUMMER SUBLET—N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. HOUSE June to September furnished $600 to reliable persons. 483-1777 (202) or Box 4165 New Republic.

FARM FOR SALE 40 acres scenic view of Lakes, mountains, good hunting and fishing. 20 minutes to county seat of Clarksville—$8,000 cash. H. E. Harvey, Route 1, Box 259, Clarksville, Arkansas 72830.

Arts and Crafts

COLLECT ORIGINAL SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Dobkin, Florsheim, Greenwood, Hirsch, Landau, Margulies, Raphael Soyer, from $15 Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6, 663 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10022.

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro, Braque. Moderately priced. Illustrated catalogue, 50c. George Kirschner, 90-59 56th Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

THE SANDAL SHOP Custom-Made sandals and Handwovens. Ghirardelli Square, San Francisco.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

CABUYA BAGS—Woven natural-fibre handbags—leather-trimmed—for beach, campus, casual wear. (C. D. Project) Write: Andean, Box 472-R, Cuenca, Equador.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 25c Whittemore, Box 2065PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

THE RUSSIANS ARE COMING! 15 different Russian stamps, 25c with Russian approvals. R Pehr—740 West 49th Street, Miami Beach, Florida 33140.

Music

MUSICAL DELIGHT for a lifetime: a Sabathil harpsichord from Vancouver, Canada.

FREE 40 PAGE CATALOG offers hundreds of recordings of rare Renaissance, Baroque and Classical music. Some records priced as low as $1.00! All late recordings in stereo only. MHS RECORDS, Box 932 NR, New York, New York 10023.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CAN FOLK-ROCK MUSIC EXPRESS CHRISTIAN LOVE IN WORSHIP? These kids say YES! Stereo recording $5.00. Joyful Noise, First Congregational Church, Downers Grove, Illinois 60515.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 45c
Per word 6 times in one contract year ...40c
Per word 12 times in one contract year...37c
Per word 24 times in one contract year...33c
Per word 48 times in one contract year...30c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed By The McCall Printing Co.
Mid-Atlantic Division

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PROGRESSIVE has been called many names.

Why? Because for 60 years this crusading magazine has stepped on so many Establishment toes; because it is progressive in the best sense:

pro·gres·sive (prə gres′iv), *adj.* **1.** favoring or advocating progress, change, improvement, or reform, as opposed to wishing to maintain things as they are, esp. in political matters

The Progressive stands for everything the Random House Dictionary defines as "'progressive," but that is only the beginning.

The Progressive has an unsurpassed record for alerting its readers to the consequences of social and political developments. For example:

¶ More than ten years ago The Progressive opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam, warning it would be a military trap and a moral outrage.

¶ Nearly a decade ago The Progressive exposed the explosive conditions in Latin America in a special issue which won the George Polk Memorial Award.

¶ The Progressive's lifetime crusade for racial justice has earned this tribute from ADA's Joseph Rauh: "The best civil rights and civil liberties magazine in the country."

¶ Early this year, Senator George S. McGovern's article, "The ABM: Unsafe at Any Price," provided the facts and ideas which helped fire citizen opposition to this "missile madness."

WHAT THEY SAY *about* The Progressive

Senator George McGovern: The Progressive is famous for tough independence, realistic analysis, and incisive reporting.

Justice William O. Douglas: The Progressive is a vital force in the fight for social justice.

John Kenneth Galbraith: I read The Progressive with enormous interest and profit.

Edward P. Morgan: The Progressive is the liveliest, most stimulating publication I know.

Senator J. W. Fulbright: The Progressive is a valuable journal for people of all political persuasions.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.: The Progressive is always honest, independent and thoughtful. It is one of the bravest and most useful of American magazines.

AMONG RECENT WRITERS

HARRISON SALISBURY	MORTON MINTZ
JAMES FARMER	SEN. EUGENE MCCARTHY
CHARLES V. HAMILTON	HAL BORLAND
SIDNEY LENS	DR. ROBERT COLES
JAMES BALDWIN	KAY BOYLE
RALPH NADER	JAMES A. WECHSLER
SEN. GAYLORD NELSON	MILTON MAYER

FULL MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

Your $3 will be refunded promptly anytime you are not satisfied.

SPECIAL HALF-PRICE OFFER

only $3 for 12 monthly issues

The Progressive
400 W. Gorham
Madison, Wis. 53703

Yes—send me The Progressive for 12 months for only $3 with a full money-back guarantee.

☐ $3 enclosed ☐ Bill me

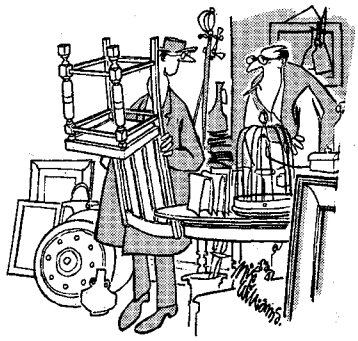
Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

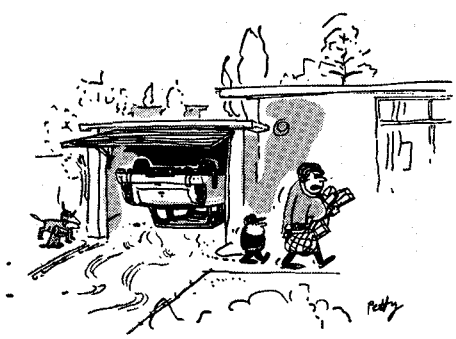
"I'll make a complete recovery if I can get used to walking backwards!"



"To be quite truthful I didn't even know Chippendale had a workshop in Hong Kong . . ."

"If we don't find water soon, it's all up with my geranium!"

If you subscribe to Punch today, half the laugh is on us.



"Of course I'm going to tell daddy!"

"Nothing to be worried about, sir —I just made a litile mistake in the calculations."

"No more wine and women, but you may sing all you like."

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

It's getting pretty hard to laugh at the world these days.

So, *Punch* would like to help—and we're willing to meet you part-way with the first half-price offer to the American public in our 128 year history:

A full year's subscription to the world-famous magazine of wit and satire—52 weekly issues, usually fifteen dollars—is now available for only $7.50.

Such things aren't done in Britain. But we think your American idea of the "introductory offer" is jolly good! Eminently fair. And we've adopted it as the very best way for you to get to know us . . . inexpensively.

At *any* price, of course, there is nothing quite like *Punch*. In its coverage of politics and books, the cinema and current affairs and business, there is nothing to match *Punch's* crisp critical essays or its luminous articles. And nothing to match its renowned cartoons, selected from among the best all over the world.

In *Punch* you'll meet many people you know—Mr. Nixon, Mr. Agnew, possibly even Mr. Ted Williams—but seen, refreshingly, from the British point of view. You'll also have the fun of discovering a whole new group of brilliant writers. Men and women with provocative ideas and different viewpoints.

For example, crusty William Hardcastle. He writes—never gently—about the world of communications. And Alan Coren: his regular column is about pleasure. Just that. Pleasure. And Mr. Punch would not be complete without "Judy," the stimulating new feature for women.

Both in cartoons and commentaries, *Punch* makes laughter the ultimate weapon—*your* ultimate weapon—against the absurdities and abominations of our time.

So, if you'd like to put more *Punch* in your life, congratulations. You're halfway there already—thanks to this unique, money-saving invitation to our American friends. Won't you come the rest of the way today? It will be fun to have you with us.

HALF-PRICE SUBSCRIPTION/DIRECT FROM LONDON

To: **Punch** Dept. 2, 30 East 60th Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

Please enter____subscription(s) for a full year of *Punch*—52 weekly issues—at $7.50 each. This is a fifty per cent saving from the usual rate, and it is available only to residents of the United States of America.

I enclose a cheque (or money order) in the amount of $_____ as full payment.

Name_____
(Please Print)

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED